

ing in Favour of the Mortality of the Soul, as if certain that it died with the Body, endeavouring to cover his Opinions with false Glosses on that Text in Genesis, wherein it is said, *That God breathed into Man a living Soul*; from whence he would have infer'd, *That when a Man ceas'd to live, he totally lost that Soul*; and when it was asked of him, Where then it went, he said, *He did not know, nor did it much concern him*. The Standers by, who, notwithstanding their profligate Course of Life, had a natural Abhorrence of this Theoretical Impiety, reproved him in very sharp Terms, for making use of such Expressions; upon which he replied, *Ay! would you have me believe all the strange Notions that are taught by the Parsons? that the Devil is a real Thing? that our good God punishes Souls for ever and ever? that Hell is full of Flames from material Fire; and that this Body of mine shall feel it? Well, you may believe it if you please, but it is so with me that I cannot.*

Sometimes, however, he would lay aside these Sceptical Opinions for a Time, talk in another Strain, and appear mightily concerned at the Misfortunes he had drawn upon his second Wife and Child: He would then speak of Providence, and the Decrees of God, with much seeming Submission, would own that he had been guilty of many and grievous Offences, and say, *I hat the Punishment of God was just, and desired the Prayers of the Minister of the Place, and those that were about him.*

When he reflected on the Grief it would give his Father, who was near 90 Years old, to hear of his Misfortunes, he was seen to shed Tears; but as soon as these Thoughts were a little out of his Head, he resumed his former Temper, and was continually asking Questions in relation to the Truth of the Gospel Dispensation, and the Doctrines therein taught of Rewards and Punishments after this Life. Being a Frenchman, and not perfectly versed in our Language, a Minister, of the Reformed Church of that Nation, was prevailed upon to attend him. Houffart received him with tolerable Civility, seemed pleased that he should pray by him, but industriously waved all Discourses of his Guilt, and even fell out into violent Passions, if a Confession was pressed upon him as a Duty. In this strange Way he consumed the Time allowed him to prepare for another World.

The Evening before his Execution, the Foreign Minister, and he whose Duty it was to attend him, both waited upon him at Night, in Order to discourse with him, on those strange Notions he had of the Mortality of the Soul, and a total Cessation of Being after this Life; but when they came to speak to him to this Purpose, he said, *They might spare themselves any Arguments upon that Head, for he believed a God and a Resurrection as firmly as they did.* They then discoursed to him of the Nature of a sufficient Repentance, and of the Duty incumbent upon him to confess that great Crime for which he was condemned, and thereby give Glory unto God. He fell at this into his old Temper, and said with some Passion, *If you will pray with me, I'll thank you, and pray with you as long as you please; but if you come only to torture me of my Guilt, I desire you would let me alone altogether.*

His Lawyers having pretty well instructed him in the Nature of an Appeal, and he coming thereby to know that he was now under Sentence of Death at the Suit of the Subject, and not of the King, he was very assiduous to learn where it was he was to apply for a Reprieve: But finding it was the Relations of his deceased Wife from whom he was to expect it, he laid aside all those Hopes, rightly conceiving it a Thing impossible to prevail upon People to spare his Life, who had almost undone themselves in prosecuting him.

In the Morning of the Day of Execution he was very much disturbed at being refused the Sacrament, which, as the Minister told him, could not be given him without his Confession: Yet this did not prevail; he said, *He woul't die then without receiving it.* A French Minister having before said to him, *Lewis Houffart, since you are condemned on full Evidence, I must inform you, that if you persist in this Denial, you can look for nothing but to be ——,* Houffart replied, *You must look for Damnation yourself, for judging me guilty, when you know nothing of the Matter.* This confused Frame of Mind he continued in, till he entered the Cart for his Execution, persisting all the Way he went in like Declarations of Innocence, tho' sometimes intermixed with short Prayers to God to forgive his manifold Sins and Offences.

At the Place of Execution he turned very pale, and grew very sick. The Ministers told him, they would not pray by him, unless he would confess the Murder for which he died; whereupon he said, *He was very sorry for that; but if they woul't not pray by him he coul'd not help it; he woul't not confess what he was totally ignorant of.* He persisted even at the Moment of being tied up; and when such Exhortations were again repeated, he said, *Pray do not torment me! Pray cease troubling of me! I tell you I'vill not make myself worse than I am.* And so saying, he gave up the Ghost, without any private Prayer when left alone, or calling upon God or Christ to receive his Spirit: He delivered however a Paper, a Copy of which follows; from whence our Readers will receive a more exact Idea of the Man than from any Picture we can draw.

I Lovi Houffart am 40 Years old, and was born in Sedan, a Town in Campagne near Bouillonais. I have left France above 14 Years. I was Apprentice to a Surgeon at Amsterdam, and after Examination was allowed by the College to be qualified for that Business; so that I intended to go on board a Ship as Surgeon; but I could never have my Health at Sea. I dwelt sometime at Maestricht in the Dutch Brabant, where my aged Father and Mother now dwell. I travelled thro' Holland, and was in almost every Town. My two Sisters are in France, and also many of my Relations; for the Earth has scarce any Family more numerous than ours. Seven or eight Years I have been in London, and here I met with Anne Rondeau, who was born at the same Village with me, and therefore I loved her. After I had left her, she wrote to me, and said, She would reveal a Secret; and she told me, She had not been chaste, and the Consequence of it was upon her. Upon which I gave her my best Help and Assistance. Since she is dead, I hope her Soul is happy.

The LIFE of JONATHAN WILD.

JONATHAN WILD was the Son of mean Parents, but honest and industrious ; their Family consisted of three Sons and two Daughters, whom they maintained in the best Manner they could from their joint Labours, he as a Carpenter, and she by selling Fruit in *Wolverhampton* Market in *Staffordshire*. *Jonathan* was the eldest of the Sons, and having receiv'd as good an Education as his Father's Circumstances would allow him, he was put out an Apprentice in *Birmingham*. He served his Time with much Fidelity, and came up to Town in the Service of a Gentleman of the long Robe, about the Year, 1704, or a little later. But not liking his Service, he quitted it, and retired again to his old Employment in the Country, where he continued to work diligently for some Time.

At last growing sick of Labour, and still entertaining a Desire of tasting the Pleasures of *London*, thither he came a second Time and worked Journey-Work at the Trade he was bred. But this not producing Money enough, to support those Expences his love of Pleasure threw him into, he got pretty deeply in Debt, was suddenly arrested, and thrown into *Wood-street Compter*. Having no Friends to do any Thing for him, he liv'd very hardly there, scarce getting Bread enough to support him from the Charity allowed to Prisoners, and what little Services he could render to Prisoners of the better Sort in the Gaol. However, as no Man wanted Address less than *Jonathan*, so no Body could have employed it more properly than he did upon this Occasion, for he got so much into the Favour of the Keepers, that they quickly permitted him the Liberty of the Gate, and he thereby got some little Matter for going of Errands. This set him above the very Pinch of Want, and that was all ; but his Fidelity and Industry in these mean Employments procured him such Esteem amongst those in Power there, that they soon appointed him an Under Keeper to those disorderly Persons who were brought in every Night.

Jonathan now came into a comfortable Subsistence, having learnt how to get Money of such People, by putting them into the Road of getting Liberty for themselves. Here he met with a Lady, who went by the Name of *Mary Milliner*, and who soon taught him how to gain yet much greater Sums than in his Way of Life, by Methods which he till then never heard of. By the help of this Woman, he grew acquainted with all the notorious Gangs of loose Persons within the Bills of Mortality, and was perfectly vers'd in the Manner bywhich they carried on their Schemes : He knew where and how their Enterprizes were to be gone upon, and what Manner they disposed of their ill got Goods, and having always an intreiguing Head, he set up for a Director amongst them, and soon became so useful, that tho' he never went out with any of them, yet he got more Money by their Crimes, than if he had been a Partner therein, which upon one Pretence or other, he always declined.

If it must be observ'd that anciently when a Thief had got his Booty, there were Multitudes of People ready to help him off, with his Effects without any more to do ; but this Method being totally destroyed, by an A&C passed in the Reign of King *William*, by which it was made Felony for any Person to buy Goods stolen, knowing them to be so, there were few or no Receivers to be met with ; those that still carri-

ed on the Trade, taking exorbitant Sums for their own Profit, and leaving those who had run the Hazards of their Necks in obtaining them, the least Share in the Plunder. This had like to have brought the thieving Trade to nought ; but *Jonathan* quickly put Things again in order, and gave new Life to the Practitioners in the several Branches of Stealing. The Method he took was this.

As soon as any considerable Robbery was committed, and *Jonathan* received Intelligence by whom, he immediately went to the Thieves, and enquired how the Thing was done, where the Persons lived who were injured, and what the Booty consisted in that was taken away : Then pretending to chide 'em for their Wickedness, and exhorting them to live honestly for the Future, he gave it them as his Advice, to lodge what they had taken in a proper Place which he appointed, and promis'd to take some Measures for their Security, by getting the People to give them somewhat to have their Goods restored them again. Having thus wheedled those who had committed a Robbery, into a Compliance with his Measures, his next Business was to divide the Goods into several Parcels, and cause them to be sent to different Places, always avoiding taking them into his own Hands. Things being in this Position, *Jonathan* and Mrs. *Milliner* went to the Persons who were robbed, and after condoling the Misfortune, pretended that they had some Acquaintance with a Broker, to whom certain Goods were brought, some of which they suspected to be stolen ; and hearing that the Person to whom they thus applied had been robb'd, they said, they thought it the Duty of one honest Body to another, to inform them thereof, and to enquire what Goods they were they lost, in order to discover whether those they spoke of were the same or no. People who have had such Losses, are always ready to hearken to any Thing that has a Tendency towards recovering their Goods : *Jonathan* or his Misses therefore, had no great Difficulty in making People listen to such Terms. In a Day or two therefore they were sure to come again, with Intelligence that they had found Part of the Things, and provided no Body was brought into Trouble, and the Broker had something in Consideration of his Care, they might be had again.

This Practice of *Jonathan's*, if well considered, carries in it a great deal of Policy. For first it seemed a very honest Act to prevail on evil Persons to restore the Goods which they had stole ; and then 'twas a great Benefit to those who were robb'd, to have their Goods again upon a reasonable Premium ; *Jonathan* all the While taking apparently nothing, his Advantages arising out of the Gratuity left with the Broker and out of what he had bargained to give the Thief, who also found his Advantage in it, the Rewards being very near as large as the Price given by Receivers, since receiving became so dangerous, and affording a certain Security into the Bargain. With respect to *Jonathan*, the Contrivance placed him in Safety from all the Laws then in Being, so that in a short Time he began to give himself out for a Person who made it his Business to procure stolen Goods to their right Owners. When he first did this, he acted with so much Art, that he not only acquired a very great Reputation, not only from those who dealt with him, but even from People of higher Station,



Jonathan Wild going to the Place of Execution. —

who observing the Industry with which he prosecuted Malefactors, took him for a Friend of Justice, and as such afforded him Countenance. Certain it is, that he brought more Villains to the Gallows, than perhaps any Man ever did, and so sensible was he of the Necessity there was for him to act in this Manner; that he constantly hung up two or three of his Clients in a Twelvemonth, that he might keep up that Character to which he had attained; and so indefatigable was he in the Pursuit of those he endeavoured to apprehend, that in all his Course of acting, never so much as one single Man escaped him.

When this Practice of *Jonathan's* became noted; it produced not only much Discourse, but some Enquiries into his Behaviour. *Jonathan* foresaw this, and in order to invade any ill Consequence he put on, upon such Occasions, an Air of Gravity, and complained of the evil Disposition of the Times, which would not omit a Man to serve his Neighbours and his Country without Censure: *For do I not, quoth he, do the greatest Good, when I persuade People who have deprived others of their Properties, to restore them again for a reasonable Consideration: And the Villains whom I have brought to suffer Punishment? Do not their Deaths shew how much Use I am of to the Country? Why then should People asperse me?* Besides these Professions of Honesty, two great Things there were which contributed to his Preservation, and they were these. First, the great Readiness the Government always shews in detecting Persons guilty of capital Offences; in which Case 'tis common to offer not only Pardon, but Rewards, to Persons guilty, provided they make Discoveries; and this *Jonathan* was so sensible of, that he did not only screen himself behind the Lenity of the supreme Power, but made Use of it also as a Sort of Authority taking upon him the Character of a Sort of Minister of Justice; which assumed Character of his, however ill founded, prov'd of great Advantage to him in the Course of his Life. The other Point, which contributed to keep him from any Prosecutions, was the great Willingness of People, who had been robbed, to recover their Goods, so that provided for a small Matter, they could regain Things very considerable, they were so far from taking Pains to bring the Offenders to Justice, that they thought the Premium a cheap Price to get off. Thus by the Rigour of the Magistrate and the Lenity of the Subject, *Jonathan* claim'd constant Employment; and, according as the Case required, the poor Thieves were either trus'd up to satisfy the just Vengeance of the one, or protected and encouraged, to satisfy the Demands of the other. Perhaps in all Histories there is not an Instance of a Man who thus openly dallied with the Laws, and play'd even with capital Punishment. If any Title can be devised suitable to *Jonathan's* Character, it must be that of Director General of the united Forces of Highwaymen, House-breakers, Foot-Pads, Pick-Pockets and private Thieves. Now the Maxims by which he supported himself in this dangerous Capacity, were these. In the first Place he continually exhorted the Plunderers to let him know punctually what Goods they at any Time took, by which Means he had it in his Power to give a direct Answer to those who came to make Enquiries. If they complied faithfully with his Instructions, he was a certain Protector on all Occasions, and sometimes had Interest enough to procure them Liberty when apprehended. But if they pretended to become Independent, and despise his Rules, or if they threw out any threatening Speeches against their Companions, or grumbled at the Compositions he made for them, in such Cases as these, *Wild* took the first Opportunity of putting them into the Information of some of his Creatures, or the first fresh Fact they committed, he immediately set out to apprehend them and laboured so indefatigable therein, that they never escaped him. Thus he not only procured the Reward for himself, but also gain'd an Opportunity of pre-

tending, that he not only restored Goods to the right Owners, but also apprehended the Thief as often as it was in his Power. In those Steps of his Business which were most hazardous, *Wild* made the People themselves take the first Steps, by publishing Advertisements of Things lost and directing them to be brought to Mr. *Wild* who was empowered to receive them; and pay such a Reward as the Person that lost them thought fit to offer. *Wild* in this Capacity appeared no otherwise than as a Person on whose Honour the injured People could rely. After he had gone on in this Trade, for about ten Years with Success, he began to lay aside much of his former Caution, taking a larger House in the Great Old-Bailey, than that in which he formerly lived, giving the Woman, whom he called his Wife, abundance of fine Things, and keeping an open Office for restoring Stolen Goods. His Fame at last came to that Height, that Persons of the highest Qualities would condescend to make use of his Abilities, when at any Installation, publick Entry, or some other great Solemnity, they had the Misfortune of losing their Watches, Jewels or other Things, of real or imaginary Value. But as his Method of treating those who applied to him for his Assistance has been much represented, we shall next give an exact and impartial Account thereof.

In the first Place, when a Person was introduced to Mr. *Wild's* Office, it was hinted to him, that a Crown must be deposited by Way of Fee for his Advice. When this was complied with, a large Book was brought out: Then the Looser was examin'd with much Formality, as to the Time, Place, and Manner, wherein the Goods became missing; and then was dismissed with a Promise of careful Enquiries being made, and of hearing more concerning them in a Day or two. *Wild* had not the least Occasion for these Queries, but to amuse the Persons he asked; for he knew beforehand all the Circumstances of the Robbery much better than they did; nay, perhaps had the very Goods in his House when the Folks came first to enquire for them. When, according to his appointment, the Enquirer came the second Time *Jonathan* took Care by a new Scene to amuse him: He was told that Mr. *Wild* had indeed made Enquiries, but was very sorry to communicate the Event of them; for the Thief, who was a bold impudent Fellow, rejected with Scorn the Offer which had been made him, pretending he could sell the Goods at a double Price; and, in short, would not hear a Word of Restitution unless upon better Terms: *But, says Jonathan, if I can but come to the Speech of him I don't doubt bringing him to Reason.* At length, after one or two more Attendances, Mr. *Wild* gave the definitive Answer, *That provided no Questions were ask'd, and you gave so much Money to the Porter who brought them you might have your Things returned at such an Hour precisely.* This was transacted with an outward Appearance of Friendship on his Side, and with great seeming Frankness and Generosity; but when you come to the last Article, viz what Mr. *Wild* expected for his Trouble, then an Air of coldness was put on, and he answered with equal Pride and Indifference. *That what he did was purely from a Principle of doing Good; as to a Gratuity for the Trouble he had taken, he left it totally to yourself, you might do in it what you thought fit.* And even when Money was presented to him, he received it with the same negligent Grace, always putting you in Mind that it was your own Act, and that he took it as a great Favour, and not as a Reward.

Thus by this Dexterity in his Management, he fenced himself against the Rigour of the Law, in the midst of these notorious Transgressions of it: For what could be imputed to Mr. *Wild*? He neither saw the Thief, who took away your Goods, nor received them after they were taken: The Method he pursued was neither dishonest nor illegal, if you would believe

believe his Account on it, and no other than his Account of it could be gotten. Had he continued satisfied with this Way of dealing, in all human Probability he might have gone to his Grave in Peace: But he was greedy, and instead of keeping constant to this safe Method, came at last to take the Goods into his own Custody, giving those that stole them what he thought proper, and then making such a Bargain with the Loser as he was able to bring him up to, sending the Porter himself, and taking without Ceremony whatever Money had been giving him. But as this happened only in the two last Years of his Life, it is fit we should give some Instances of his Behaviour before.

A Gentleman who dealt in Silks near Covent-Garden, had a Piece of extraordinary rich Damask, bespoke of him on Purpose for the Birth-Day Suit of a certain Duke; and the Lace-man having brought such Trimming as was proper for it, the Mercer had made the whole up in a Parcel, tied it at each End with blue Ribband, sealed with great Exactness, and placed on one End of the Compter, in Expectation of his Grace's Servant, who he knew was directed to call for it in the Afternoon. Accordingly the Fellow came; but when the Mercer went to deliver him the Goods, the Piece was gone, and no Account could possibly be had of it. As the Master had been all Day in the Shop, so there was no Pretext of charging any thing, either upon the Carelessness or Dishonesty of Servants. After an Hour's fretting therefore, seeing no other Remedy, he e'en determined to go and communicate his Loss to Mr. Wild, in hopes of receiving some Benefit by his Assistance; the Loss consisting not so much in the Value of the Things, as in the Disappointment it would be to the Birth-Day. Upon this Consideration an Hackney-Coach was immediately called, and away he was ordered to drive directly to Jonathan's House in the Old Baily. As soon as he came into the Room, and had acquainted Mr. Wild with his Business, the usual Deposite of a Crown being made, and the common Questions of howe, when and where, having been ask'd, the Mercer, being very impatient, said with some kind of Heat, Mr. Wild, tell me in a few Words, if it be in your Power to serve me; if it is, I have thirty Guineas here ready to lay down; but if you expect that I should dance Attendance for a Week or two, I assure you I shall not be willing to part with above half the Money. Good Sir, replied Mr. Wild, have a little more Consideration: I am no Thief Sir, nor Receiver of stolen Goods; so that if you don't think fit to give me Time to enquire, you must e'en take what Measures you please.

When the Mercer found he was like to be left without any hopes, he began to talk in a milder Strain, and with abundance of Intreaties fell to persuading Jonathan to think of some Method to serve him, and that immediately. Wild stepped out a Minute or two and as soon as he came back, told the Gentleman, It was not in his Power to serve him in such a Hurry, if at all: However, in a Day or two he might be able to give him some Answer. The Mercer insisted, that a Day or two would lessen the Value of the Goods one half to him; and Jonathan insisted as peremptorily, that it was not in his Power to do any thing sooner. At last a Servant came in a Hurry, and told Mr. Wild, there was a Gentleman below desired to speak with him. Jonathan bowed, begged the Gentleman's Pardon, and told him, he would wait on him again in one Minute. In about five Minutes he returned with a very smiling Countenance; and turning to the Gentleman, said, I protest Sir, you are the luckiest Man I ever knew; I spoke to one of my People just now to go to a House where I knew some Listers resort, and directed him to talk of your Robbery, and to say, you had been with me and offered thirty Guineas for the Things again. This Story has had its Effect, and if you go directly home, I fancy you'll

bear more News of it than I am able to tell you. But pray, Sir, remember that the thirty Guineas was your own Offer, you are at free Liberty to give them, or let them alone; 'tis nothing to me, though I have done all for you in my Power of Gratuity.

Away went the Mercer, wondering where this Affair would end; but as he walked up Southampton-street, a Fellow overtook him, patted him on the Shoulder, delivered him the Bundle unopened, and told him the Price was twenty Guineas. The Mercer paid it him directly, and returning to Jonathan in half an Hour's Time, begged him to accept of the ten Guineas he had saved him for his Pains. Jonathan told him, That he had saved him nothing, but supposed that the People thought twenty enough, considering that they were now pretty safe from Prosecution. The Mercer still pressed the ten Guineas upon Jonathan, who after taking them out of his Hand, returned him Five of them, and assured him, There was more than enough; adding, 'Tis Satisfaction enough Sir, to an honest Man, that he is able to procure People their Goods again. This was a remarkable Instance of his Moderation he sometimes practised, the better to conceal his Villanies. We will add another Story, no less extraordinary.

A Lady whose Husband was out of the Kingdom, and who had sent for her over-draughts for her Assistance, to the amount of between fifteen hundred and two thousand Pound, lost the Pocket Book in which they were contained, between Bucklers-bury and the Magpye-Ale house in Leadenhall street, where the Merchant lived upon whom they were drawn. She, however, went to the Gentleman, and he advised her to go directly to Mr. Jonathan Wild. Accordingly to Jonathan she came, deposited the Crown, and answered the Questions she ask'd him. Jonathan then told her that in an Hour or two's Time, possibly some of his People might hear who it was that had pick'd her Pocket. The Lady was vehement in her Desires to have it again, and for that Purpose went so far at last as to offer an hundred Guineas. Wild upon that made Answer, Though they are of much greater Value to you, Madam, yet they cannot be worth any Thing like it to them; therefore keep your own Council, say nothing in the Hearing of my People, and I'll give the best Directions I am able for the Recovery of your Notes; in the mean While, if you will go to any Tavern near, and endeavour to eat a bit of Dinner, I will bring you an Answer before the Cloth is taken away. She said she was unacquainted with any House thereabouts; upon which Mr. Wild named the Baptist-Head. The Lady would not be satisfied unless Mr. Wild promised to eat with her: He at last complied, and she ordered a Fowl and Sausages at the House he had appointed. She waited there about three quarters of an Hour, when Mr. Wild came over and told her he had heard News of her Book, desired her to tell out ten Guineas upon the Table in case she should have Occasion for them, and as the Cook came up to acquaint her that the Fowl was ready, Jonathan begged she would just step down and see whether there was any Woman waiting at his Door. The Lady without minding the Mystery, did as he desired her, and perceiving a Woman in a Scarlet Riding-Hood walk twice or thrice by Mr. Wild's House, her Curiosity prompted her to go near her; but recollecting she had left the Gold upon the Table up Stairs, she went and snatched it up without saying a Word to Jonathan, and then running down again, went towards the Woman in a red Hood, who was still walking before his Door. It seems she had guess'd right; for no sooner did she approach towards her, but the Woman came directly up to her, and presenting her her Pocket-Book, desired she would open it and see that all was safe: The Lady did so, and answering, It was all right, the Woman in the red Riding-Hood said, Here's another little Note for you, Madam: Upon which she

she gave her a little Billet, on the out-side of which was wrote ten Guineas. The Lady delivered her the Money immediately, adding also a Piece for herself; then she returned with a great deal of Joy to Mr. Wild, and told him, *She had got her Book, and would now eat her Dinner heartily.*

When the Things were taken away, she thought it was Time to go to the Merchants, who probably now was returned from Change; but first thought it necessary to make Mr. Wild an handsome Present; for which Purpose, putting her Hand in her Pocket, she with great Surprize found her green Purse gone, in which was the Remainder of fifty Guineas she had borrowed of the Merchant in the Morning; upon this she look'd very much confus'd, but did not speak a Word. Jonathan perceived it, and ask'd her, *If she was not well. I am tollerable in Health, Sir, answered she, but amaz'd that the Woman took but ten Guineas for the Book, and at the same Time picked my Pocket of thirty nine.* Mr. Wild hereup on appeared in as great a Confusion as the Lady, and said, *He hoped she was not in earnest; but if it were so, begget her not to stirr herself, for she shoul'd not lose one Farthing.* Upon this, Jonathan begining her to sit still, stepped over to his own House, and gave, as may be supposed, necessary Directions; for in less than half an Hour, a little Jew, that Wild kept, bolted into the Room, and told him the Woman was taken, and on the Point of going to the Compter. ' You shall see, Madam, (replied Jonathan, turning to the Lady) what exemplary Punishment I'll make of this inflamou Woman.' Then turning himself to the Jew, ' Abraham, (says he) ' was the green Purse of Money taken about her?' ' Yes Sir, (replied his Agent.)' ' O la! (then said the Lady) I'll take the Purse with all my Heart; I would not prosecute the poor Wretch for the World.' ' Would no: you so, Madam, (replied Wild)? well then, we'll see what's to be done.' Upon this he first whisper'd his Emissary, and then dispatched him. He was no sooner gone, than, upon Jonathan's saying the Lady would be too late at the Merchant's, they took Coach, and stopped over-against the Compter Gate by Stocks-Market. The Lady wonder'd at all this, but by that Time they had been in a Tavern there a very little Space, back comes Jonathan's Emissary, with the green Purse and the Gold in it. ' She says, Sir, (said the Fellow to Wild) she has only broke a Guinea of the Money for Garnish and Wine, and here's all the rest of it.' ' Very well (says Jonathan) give it to the Lady. Will you please to tell it, Madam?' The Lady accordingly did, and found there were forty-nine Guineas. ' Bless me! (says she) I think the Woman's bewitch'd; she has sent me ten Guineas more than I should have had.' ' No Madam, (replied Wild) she has sent you the ten Guineas back again, which she receiv'd for the Book: I never suffer any such Practices in my Way; I obliged her therefore to give up the Money she had taken as well as that she had stoln. The Lady was so much confounded at these unaccountable Incidents, that she scarce knew what she did; at last recollecting herself, ' Well, Mr. Wild, (says she) then I think the least I can do is to oblige you to accept of those ten Guineas.' ' No, (replied he) nor of ten Earthings; I scorn all Actions of such a Sort as much as any Man of Quality in the Kingdom: All the Reward I desire, Madam, is, that you will acknowledge I have acted like an honest Man, and a Man of Honour.' He had scarce pronounced these Words, before he rose up, made her a Bow, and went immediately down Stairs. We shall add but one more Relation of this Sort, and then go on with the Series of our History.

There came a little Boy with Viols to sell in a Basket, to a Surgeon's Shop: it was in the Winter, when one Day after he had sold the Bottles that were wanted, the Boy complained he was almost chill'd

to Death with Cold, and almost starved for Want of Vituals. The Surgeon's Maid, in Compassion to the Child, who was not above nine or ten Years old, took him into the Kitchen, and gave him a Porringer of Milk and Bread, with a Lump or two of Sugar in it. The Boy eat a little of it; then said, He had enough, gave her a thousand Blessings, and marched off with a Silver Spoon, and a Pair of Forceps of the same Metal, which lay in the Shop as he passed through. The Instrument was first missed, and the Search after it occasioned their missing the Spoon; yet no Body suspected any thing of the Boy, though they had all seen him in the Kitchen.

The Gentleman of the House, however, having some Knowledge of Wild, and not living far from the Old-Bailey, went immediately to him for his Advice. Jonathan called for a Bottle of White Wine, and ordered it to be mull'd. The Gentleman knowing the Custom of his House, laid down the Crown, and was going on to tell him the Manner in which the Things were miss'd; but Mr. Wild soon cut him short, by saying, ' Sir, step into the next Room a Moment, here's a Lady, coming hither: You may depend upon my doing any Thing that is in my Power; and presently we'll talk the Thing over at Leisure.' The Gentleman went into the Room where he was directed, and saw, with no little Wonder, his Forceps and Silver Spoons lying upon the Table. He had hardly took them up to look at them, before Jonathan entered, ' So Sir, said he, I suppose you have no farther Occasion for my Assistance. Yes indeed I have, said the Surgeon, there are a great many Servants in our Family, and some of them will certainly be blamed for this Transaction, so that I am under a Necessity of being, that you will let me know how they were stolen? I believe the Thief is not far off, quoth Jonathan, and if you'll give me your Word he shall come to no Harm, I'll produce him immediately.' The Gentleman readily condescended to this Proposition, and Mr. Wild stepping out for a Minute or two, brought in the young Viol Merchant in his Hand. ' Here Sir, says Wild, do you know this hopeful Youth, Yes, answered the Surgeon, but I could never have dreamt that a Creature so little as he, could have had so much Wickedness in him: However, as I have given you my Word, and as I have had my Things again, I will not only pass by his robbing me, but if he will bring me Bottles again, I shall make use of him as I used to do. I believe you may, added Jonathan, when he ventures into your House again.' But it seems he was herein mistaken, for in less than a Week afterwards the Boy had the Impudence to come and offer his Viols again; upon which the Gentleman not only bought of him as usual, but ordered two Quarts of Milk to be set on the Fire, put into it two Ounces of gunster Sugar, crumm'd it with a couple of penny Bricks, and obliged this nimble finger'd Youth to eat it every Drop up before he went out of the Kitchen Door; and then, without farther Correction, hurried him about his Business.

This was the Channel in which Jonathan's Business usually ran, till he became at last so very notorious, that an Act of Parliament passed, levelling directly against such Practices, whereby Persons who took Money for the Recovery of stolen Goods, and did actually recover such Goods without apprehending the Felon, should be deemed guilty of Felony in the same Degree with those who committed the Robbery. After this became a Law, a certain honourable Person sent to Jonathan to warn him of going on any longer at his old Rate, for that it was now become a capital Crime, and if he was apprehended for it, he could expect no Mercy. Jonathan received the Reproof with Abundance of Thankfulness and Submission, but never altered the Manner of his Behaviour in the least, but on the contrary, did it more openly and publickly than ever. Indeed, to compensate for this, he seemed to double his Diligence in apprehending

apprehending Thieves, and brought the most notorious amongst them to the Gallows, even tho' he himself had bred them up in their Art.

Of these none was so open and apparent a Case as that of *Blake*, alias *Blueskin*. This Fellow had from a Child been under the Tuition of Mr. *Wild*, who paid for the curing his Wounds whilst he was in the Compter, allowed him three Shillings and six Pence a Week for his Subsistence, and afforded his Help to get him out at last; yet soon after this he abandoned him to his own Conduct, and in a short Space caused him to be apprehended for breaking open the House of Mr. *Kneebone*, which brought him to the Gallows. When this Fellow came to be tried, Mr. *Wild* assured him, That his Body should be handsomely interred in a good Coffin at his own Expence. This was strange Comfort, and such as by no Means suited with *Blueskin*; who insisted peremptorily upon a Transportation Pardon, which he said he was sure *Jonathan* had Interest enough to procure for him: But upon *Wild's* assuring him that he had not, and that it was in vain for him to flatter himelf with such Hopes. *Blueskin* was at last in such a Passion, that though this Discourse happened in the Presence of the Court then sitting, *Blake* could not forbear taking Revenge for what he took to be an Insult on him; and therefore clap'd one Hand under *Jonathan's* Chin, and with the other cut him a large Gash a-cross the Throat, which every Body at the Time it was done judged mortal. *Jonathan* was carried off, all covered with Blood; and though at that Time he professed the greatest Resentment for such base Usage, affirming that he had never deserved to be so treated; yet when he afterwards came to be under Sentence of Death himself, he regretted prodigiously the Escape he then made, often wishing that *Blake* had put an End to his Life, rather than left him to so ignominious a Fate. Indeed it was not *Blake* alone, who had entertained Notions of putting him to Death; he had disobliged almost the whole Group of Villains, and there were Numbers of them who had taken it into their Heads to deprive him of Life. His Escapes in the apprehending such Persons were sometimes very narrow, having received Wounds in almost every Part of his Body, had his Skull twice fractured, and his whole Constitution so broken by these Accidents, and the great Fatigue he went through, that when he fell under the Misfortunes which brought him to his Death, he was scarce able to stand upright, and never in a Condition to go to Chappel.

But we have broke a little into the Thread of our History, and must therefore go back, in order to trace the Causes which brought on *Jonathan's* last Adventures, and finally his violent Death, which we shall now relate in the clearest and concisest Manner that the Thing will allow.

The Practices of this Criminal continued long after the Act of Parliament, and that in so notorious a Manner at last, that the Magistrates of *London* and *Middlesex* thought themselves obliged to take Notice of him. This occasioned a Warrant to be granted against him, by a worshipful Alderman of the City; upon which Mr. *Wild* being apprehended somewhere near *Woodstreet*, he was carried into the *Rose Spunging house*. While he waited the Leisure of the Magistrate who was to examine him, the Crowd was very great; whereupon with his wonted Hypocrisy he harangued them to this Purpose. ‘ I wonder, good People, what it is you would see? I am a poor honest Man, who have done all I could to serve People when they have had the Misfortune to lose their Goods by the Villainy of Thieves: I have contributed more than any one Man living, to bringing the most daring and notorious Malefactors to Justice: Yet now by the Malice of my Enemies, you see I am in Custody, and am going before a Magistrate, who I hope will do me Justice. Why should you insult me therefore?

‘ I don't know that I ever injured any of you: Let me intreat you, as you see me lame in Body, and inflicted in Mind, not to make me more uneasy than I can bear. If I have offended against the Law it will punish me, but it gives you no right to use me ill, unheard and unconvicted.’ The People of the House, and the *Compter* Officers, by this Time, had pretty well cleared the Place; upon which he began to compose himself, and desired them to get a Coach to the Door, for that he was unable to walk. About an Hour after, he was carried before a Justice and examined, and thereupon immediately committed to *Newgate*. He laid there a considerable Time before he was tried; at last he was convicted capitally, upon the following Fact.

He was indicted on the afore-mentioned Statute, for receiving Money for the restoring stolen Goods, without apprehending the Persons by whom they were stolen. In order to support this Charge, the Prosecutrix, *Catharine Stephens*, deposed as follows: On the 22d of January, I had two Persons, came into my Shop under Pretence of buying some Lace; they were so difficult that I had none below would please them; so leaving my Daughter in the Shop, I stepped up Stairs and brought down another Box; we could not agree about the Price, and so they went away together. In about half an Hour after, I missed tin Box of Lace that I valued at fifty Pound. The same Night I went to *Jonathan Wild's* House, but not meeting with him at Home, I advertised the Lace that I had lost, with a Reward of fifteen Guineas, and no Questions ask'd: But hearing nothing of it, I went to *Jonathan's* House again, and then met with him at home: He desired me to give him a Description of the Persons that I suspected, which I did, as near as I could; and then he told me, ‘ That he would make Enquiry, and bid me call again in two or three Days.’ I did so, and then he said, ‘ That he had heard something of my Lace, and expected to know more of the Matter in a very little Time.’ I came to him again on that Day he was apprehended, and told him, that tho' I had advertiz'd but fifteen Guineas Reward, yet I would give twenty or twenty five Guineas, rather than not have my Goods. ‘ Don't be in such a Hurry,’ (says *Jonathan*) I don't know but I may help you to it for less; and if I can I will: The Persons that have it are gone out of Town, I shall set them to quarrelling about it, and then I shall get it the cheaper.’ On the 10th of March he sent me Word, ‘ That if I could come to him in *Newgate*, and bring ten Guineas in my Pocket, he would help me to the Lace.’ I went; he desired me to call a Porter; but I not knowing where to find one, he sent a Person who brought one that appeared to be a Ticket-Porter: The Prisoner gave me a Letter, which he said was sent him as a Direction where to go for the Lace; but I could not read, and so I delivered it to the Porter. Then he desired me to give the Porter the ten Guineas, or else (he said) the Persons that had the Lace would not deliver it. I gave the Porter the Money; he went away and in a little Time returned, and brought me a Box that was sealed up, but not the Box that was lost. I opened it, and found all my Lace but one Piece. Now Mr. *Wild*, (says I) what must you have for your Trouble? Not a Farthing, (says he) not a Farthing for me: I don't do these Things for worldly Interest, but only for the good of poor People that have met with Misfortunes. As for the Piece of Lace that is Missing, I hope to get it you e'er it be long; and I don't know but that I may help you not only to your Money again, but to the Thief too; and if I can, as you are a good Woman, and a Widow and a Christian, I desire nothing of you but your Prayers, and for them I shall be thankful. I have a great many Enemies, and God knows what may be the Consequence of this Im-prisonment.

The

The Fact suggested in the Indictment was undoubtedly fully proved by this Deposition; and tho' it happened in Newgate, and after his Confinement, yet it still continued as much a Crime as if it had been done before. The Law therefore condemned him upon it. But if he had even escaped this, there were other Facts of a like Nature, which inevitably would have destroyed him; for the last Years of his Life, instead of growing more prudent, he became less so; and the Blunders he committed were very little like the Behaviour of Jonathan, in the first Years of his Practice. When he was brought up to the Bar to receive Sentence, he appeared to be very much dejected, and when the usual Question was proposed to him, *What have you to say why Judgment of Death should not pass upon you?* he spoke with a very feeble Voice in the following Terms.

My Lord, I hope I may even in the sad Condition in which I stand, pretend to some little Merit in respect to the Service I have done my Country, in delivering it from some of the greatest Pests with which it was ever troubled. My Lord, I have brought many bold and daring Malefactors to just Punishment, even at the Hazard of my own Life, my Body being covered with Scars I received in these Undertakings. I presume, my Lord, to say, I have some Merit, because at the Time the Things were done, they were esteemed meritorious by the Government; and therefore I hope, my Lord, some Compassion may be shewn on the Score of those Services. I submit myself wholly to His Majesty's Mercy, and humbly beg a favourable Report of my Case.

When Sir William Thompson pronounced Sentence of Death, he spoke particularly to Will, put him in Mind of those Cautions he had received of going on in Practices, rendered Capital by a Law, made on Purpose for preventing that infamous Trade of becoming Broker for Felony, and standing in the Middle between the Felon and the Person injured, in order to receive a Premium for Redress. And when he had properly stated the Nature and Aggravations of his Crime, he exhorted him to make a better Use of that small Portion of Time, which the Tenderness of the Law of England allowed Sinners for Repentance, and desired he would remember this Admonition, though he had slighted others; as to the Report, he told him, he might depend on Justice, and ought not to hope for more.

Under Conviction, no Man who appeared upon other Occasions to have so much Courage, ever shewed so little. When Clergymen took the Pains to visit him, and instruct him in those Duties which it became a dying Man to practice, though he heard them without Interruption, yet he heard them coldly, and was continually suggesting Scruples and Doubts about a future State, and putting frequent Cases of the Reasonableness and Lawfulness of Suicide, where an ignominious Death was inevitably, and the Thing was perpetrated only to avoid Shame. He was more especially swayed to such Notions, he pretended, from the Examples of the famous Heroes of Antiquity; who, to avoid dishonourable Treatment, had given themselves a speedy Death. As such Discourses were what took up most of the Time between his Sentence and Death, so they occasioned some very useful Lectures upon this Head, from the charitable Divines who visited him. One Letter was written to him by a learned Person, of which a Copy has been preferred. 'Tis an excellent Piece, but too long to be inserted.

Jonathan pretended to be overcome with these Reasons, but it plainly appeared that in this he was an Hypocrite; for the Day before his Execution, notwithstanding the Keepers had the strictest Eye on him imaginable, some-body conveyed to him a Bottle of Liquid Laudanum, of which haven taken a very large Quantity, he hoped it would prevent his dying at the Gallows. But as he had not been sparing in the Dose, so the Largeness of it made a spec-

dy Alteration in him, which being perceived by his Fellow Prisoners, seeing he could not keep open his Eyes at the time the Prayers were said, they walked him about; which first made him sweat exceedingly, and then very sick: At last he vomited, and they continuing still to lead him, he threw the greatest Part of the Laudanum off from his Stomach. He continued notwithstanding that, very drowsy, stupid, and unable to do any thing but gasp out his Breath. He went to Execution in a Cart, and the People, instead of expressing any Compassion, threw Stones and Dirt all the Way he went along, reviling and cursing him to the last, and plainly shewing by their Behaviour, how much his Crimes had made him abhorred. When he arrived at Tyburn, having gathered a little Strength, (Nature recovering from the Convulsions into which the Laudanum had thrown him) the Executioner told him, *He might take what Time he pleased to prepare for Death.* He therefore sat down in the Cart for some small time, during which the People were so uneasy, that they called out incessantly to the Executioner to dispatch him, and at last threatened to tear him in Pieces, if he did not tie him up immediately. Such a furious Spirit was hardly ever discovered in the Populace, who generally beheld even the Stroke of Justice with Tears; but so far were they from it in this Case, that had a Reprieve really come, 'tis highly questionable whether the Prisoner could ever have been brought back with Safety.

Before we part with Mr. Will, 'tis requisite to say something of his Wives. His first was a poor honest Woman, who contented herself to live at Wolverhampton, with the Son she had by him, without ever putting him to any Trouble, or endeavouring to take upon her the Title of Madam Will, which his last Wife did with the greatest Affection. The next was the aforementioned Mrs. Williner, with whom he continued in very great Intimacy after they liv'd separately, and by her means he first carried on the Trade of detecting stolen Goods. The Third was one Zetty Man, a Woman of the Town in her younger Years, but so suddenly struck with the Horror of her Offences, that on the Persuasion of a Romish Priest she turn'd Papist, and appearing exceedingly devout and thoroughly penitent for all her Sins, Will even retained such an Impression of the Sanctity of this Woman, that he ordered his Body to be buried next hers in Paneras Church-Yard; which his Friends saw accordingly performed, about two a-Clock in the Morning after his Execution. The next of Mr. Will's Sultana's was Sarah Perrin, alias Grystone, who surviv'd him. The fifth was Judith Nunn, by whom he had a Daughter, who at the time of his Decease might be about ten Years old, both Mother and Daughter being then living. The sixth and last was the celebrated Madam Will: This remarkable Damsel before her first Marriage was known by the Name of Mary Broten, afterwards by that of Mrs. Dean, being Wife to Skull Dear, who was executed about the Year 1716 or 1717 for House-breaking. Some People have reported that Jonathan was accessory to the Hanging him, merely for the Sake of the Reward, and the Opportunity of taking his Relict; who, whatever Regard she might have for her first Husband, is currently reported to have been so much affected with the Misfortunes of the latter, that she twice attempted to make away with herself after she had the News of his being under Sentence. By this last Lady he left no Children, and but two by his three other Wives, who were living at the Time of his Decease.

As to the Person of this Man, it was homely to the greatest Degree; there being something remarkably villainous in his Face, which Nature had imprinted in stronger Terms, than perhaps she ever did upon any other. However, he was strong and active, a Fellow of prodigious Boldness and Resolution, which made the Pusillanimity shew at his Death more remarkable. He was not at all shy in owning his Pro-

fession, but on the contrary bragged of it upon all Occasions; into which perhaps he was led by that ridiculous Respect which was paid him, and the Meanness of Spirit some Persons of Distinction were guilty of in talking to him freely. Common Report has swelled the Number of Malefactors executed thro' his Means, to no less than one hundred and

twenty : Certain it is, that they were very numerous, as well in Reality as his own Reckoning. It has been said that there was a considerable Sum of Money due to him for his Share in the Apprehension of several Felons at the very Time of his Death, which happened on Monday the 24th of May, 1725, he being then about 42 Years of Age.

The LIVES of EDWARD BURNWORTH, alias FRAZIER, WILLIAM BLEWIT, THOMAS BERRY, EMANUEL DICK- ENSON, WILLIAM MARJORAM, JOHN HIGGS, &c.

EDWARD BURNWORTH, alias **FRAZIER**, was the extraordinary Person who framed a Project for bringing *Rapine* into Method, and bounding even the Practice of Licentiousness within some Kind of Order. It may seem reasonable therefore to begin with his Life, preferable to the rest, and in so doing, we must inform our Readers, that his Father was by Trade a Painter, though so low in his Circumstances, as to be able to afford his Son but a very mean Education. However, he gave him as much as would have been sufficient for him in that Trade to which he bound him Apprentice, *viz.* a Buckle-maker in *Grub-street*, where for some Time *Edward* lived honestly and much in the Favour of his Master; but his Father dying, and his unhappy Mother being reduced into very narrow Circumstances, Restraint grew uneasy to him, and the Weight of a Parent's Authority being lost, he began to associate himself with those incorrigible Vagrants, who frequent the Ring at *Moorfields*, and from Idleness and Debauchery, go on in a very swift Progression to Robbery and picking of Pockets. *Edward* was active in his Person, and enterprizing in his Genius; he soon distinguished himself in Cudgel-Playing, and such other *Moorfields* Exercises, as qualify a Man first for the Road, and then for the Gallows. The Mob who frequented this Place, where one *Frazier* kept the Ring, were so highly pleased with *Burnworth's* Performances, that they thought nothing could express their Applause so much as conferring on him the Title of young *Frazier*. This agreeing with the Ferocity of his Disposition, made him so vain thereof, that quitting his own Name, he chose to go by this, and accordingly was called so by all his Companions.

Burnworth's grand Associates were these, *William Blewit*, *Emanuel Dickenson*, *Thomas Berry*, *John Legee*, *William Marjoram*, *John Higgs*, *John Wilson*, *John Mason*, *Thomas Mekins*, *William Gillingham*, *John Barton*, *William Swift*, and some others that is not material here to mention. At first they contented themselves with picking of Pockets, and other Exercises in the lowest Class of Thieving, in which, however, they did more Mischief than any Gang which had been before them for twenty Years. They rose afterwards to Exploits of a more hazardous Nature, *viz.* snatching Womens Pockets, Swords, Hats, &c. The useful Places for their carrying on such infamous Practices, being about the *Royal-Exchange*, *Cheapside*, *St Paul's Church Yard*, *Fleet-street*, the *Strand*, and *Charing-Cross*. Here they stuck a good while, nor is it probable they would ever have risen higher if *Burnworth* their Captain had not been detected in an Affair of this Kind, and committed to *Bridewell*, from

whence he was removed to *New Prison*, where he projected an Escape, which he put in Execution. During this Imprisonment, instead of reflecting on his evil Course of Life, he meditated only how to engage his Companions in Attempts of a higher Nature, and considering how large a Circle he had of wicked Associates, he began to entertain Notions of putting them in such a Posture as might prevent their falling easily into the Hands of Justice, which many of them within a Month or two last past had done.

Full of such Projects, and having once more regained his Freedom, he took much Pains to find out *Barton*, *Majoram*, *Berry*, *Blewit*, and *Dickenson*, in whose Company he walked with strange Boldness, considering Warrants were out against the greatest Part of the Gang. In the Night-time *Burnworth* stroled about to such little Bawdy-Houses as he had formerly frequented, and where he yet fancied he might be safe. One Evening having wandered from the rest, he was so bold as to go into a House in the *Old Bailey*, where he heard the Servants and Successors of *Jonathan Wild* were in close Pursuit of him, and that one of them was in the inner Room by himself. *Burnworth* loaded his Pistol under the Table, and having primed it, goes with it ready cocked into the Room where *Jonathan's* Foreman was, with a Quartern of Brandy and a Glass before him, *Hark ye, (says Edward) You Fellow, who have served your Time to a Thief-Taker, what Business might you have with me or my Company? Do you think to gain a hundred or two by swearing our Lives away? If you do you are much mistaken, but that I may be some Judge of your Talent that Way, I must bear you swear a little on another Occasion.* Upon which filling a large Glass of Brandy, and putting a little Gunpowder into it, he clapped it into the Fellows Hands, and then presenting his Pistol to his Breast, obliged him to wish most horrid Mischiefs upon himself, if ever he attempted to follow him or his Companions any more. No sooner had he done this, but *Frazier* knocking him down, quitted the Room, and went to acquaint his Companions with his notable Adventure; which, as it undoubtedly frightened the new Thief-Taker, so it highly exalted his Reputation for Bravery: A Thing not only agreeable to *Burnworth's* Vanity, but useful also to his Design, which was to advance himself to a Sort of absolute Authority. His Associates were not cunning enough to penetrate his Views; but without knowing it, suffered them to take Effect, so that instead of robbing as they used to do, as Accident directed them, or they received Intelligence of any Booty, they now submitted themselves to his Guidance, and did nothing but as he commanded them.

The



Burnworth, Blewit, &c Who Murder'd Ball at his House in
the Mint.

The Morning before the Murder of Thomas Ball. Burnworth and Barton, pitch'd upon the House of an old Justice of the Peace in Clerkenwell, to whom they had a particular Pique for having formerly committed Burnworth, and proposed it to their Companions to break it open that Night. They put their Design in Execution successfully, carrying off some Things of real Value, and a considerable Parcel of what they took to be Silver Plate; with this they went into the Fields above Islington, and from thence to Copenhagen-House, where they spent the greatest Part of the Day. On their parting the Booty, Burnworth perceived what they had taken for Silver was nothing more than a gilt Metal, at which he in a Rage would have thrown it away. Barton opposed it, and said, *They should be able to sell it for something;* To which Burnworth replied, *That it was good for nothing but to discover them, and therefore it should not be preserved at any rate.* Upon this they differed, and while they were debating, came Blewit, Berry, Dickenson, Higgs, Wilson, Legee, and Marjoram, who joined the Company. Burnworth and Barton agreed to toss up at whose Disposal the Silver Ware should be; they did so, and it fell to Burnworth to dispose of it as he thought fit; upon which he carried it immediately to the New-River-Side, and threw it in there, adding, *He was sorry he had not the old Justice himself there, to share the same Fate;* being really as much out of Humour as if the Justice had imposed upon them in a fair Sale of the Commodity.

They loiter'd up and down the Fields 'till towards Evening, when they thought they might venture into Town, and pass the Time in their usual Pleasures. While they were thus murdering of Time, a Comrade of theirs came up puffing and blowing as if ready to break his Heart. As soon as he reached them, *Lads, (says he,) beware of one thing; the Constables have been all about Chick-Lane in search of Folk of our Profession, and if ye venture to the House where we were to have met to-Night, 'tis Ten to one but we are all taken.* This Intelligence occasioned a deep Consultation amongst them, what Method they had best take: Burnworth exhorted them to keep together, telling them, as they were armed with Pistols and Daggers, a small Force would not venture to attack them. This was approved by all the rest, and when they had made a solemn Oath to stand by one another in Case of Danger, they resolved, as Night grew on, to draw towards Town, Barton having quitted them and gone home. As they came through Turnmill-Street, they met the Keeper of New-Prison, from whom Burnworth had escaped about six Weeks before. He desired Edward to step cross the Way to him, adding, *that he did not intend to do him any Prejudice.* Burnworth replied, *That he was no way in fear of any Injury he was able to do him.* And so concealing a Pistol in his Hand, he stepped over to him, his Companions waiting for him in the Street, but the Neighbours having some Suspicion of the Methods they followed, began to gather about them; upon which they called to their Companion, to come away, which, after making a low Bow to the Captain of New-Prison, he did. Finding the People increase they thought it their most adviseable Method to retire back into the Fields; this they did, keeping very close together, and in order to deter the People from making any Attempt, turn'd several times and presented their Pistols in their Faces, swearing they would murder the first Man who came near enough for them to touch him.

As soon as they had dispersed their Pursuers, they entered into a fresh Consultation, in what Manner they should dispose of themselves. Burnworth heard what every one proposed, and said at last *That he thought the best Thing they could do, was to enter the other Quarter of the Town, and so go directly to the Water-Side.* They approved his Proposal, and accordingly getting down to Black-Fryars,

cross'd directly into Southwark. They went afterwards to the Musick-house, but did not stay there, retiring at last into St. George's-Fields, where their last Counsel was held to settle the Operation of the Night. There Burnworth exerted himself in his proper Colours, informing them that there was no less Danger of their being apprehended there than about Chick-Lane; for that one Thomas Ball, who kept a Gin-Shop in the Mint, and who was very well acquainted with most of their Persons, had taken it into his Head to venture upon Jonathan Wilts Employment, and was indefatigable in searching out all their Haunts, that he might get a good Penny by apprehending them. He added, that but a few Nights ago, he himself narrowly missed being caught by him, being obliged to clap a Pistol to his Face, and threaten to shoot him dead: Therefore, continued Burnworth, the surest Way is to go to this Rogue's House, and shoot him dead upon the Spot. His Death will not only secure us from all Fears of his Treachery, but it will so terrify others, that no-body will take up the Trade of Thieft-catching in it; and if it were not for such People, hardly one of our Profession in a Hundred would see the Inside of Newgate.

Burnworth had scarce made an End of his bloody Proposal, before they all testified their Assent to it, Higgs only excepted, who seeming to disapprove thereof, they upbraided him with being a Coward and a Scoundrel, unworthy of being any longer the Companion of such brave Fellows. When Frazer had sworn them all to stick fast by one another, he put himself at their Head, and away they went directly to put their Design in Execution. Higgs retreating under the Favour of the Night, being apprehensive that himself might share the Fate of Ball, upon the first Dislike of him, Burnworth and his Party, when they came to Ball's House, and enquired of his Wife for him, were informed that he was gone to the next Door, a Publick-house, and that she would step and call him. Burnworth immediately followed her, and meeting Ball at the Door, took him fast by the Collar, dragged him into his own House, and began to expostulate with him why he had attempted to take him, and how ungenerous it was to seek to betray his old Friends and Acquaintance. Ball apprehending their mischievous Intentions, addressed himself to Blewit, and beg'd of him to be an Intercessor for him, that they would not murder him. But Burnworth with an Oath replied, *He would put it out of the Power of Ball ever to do him any farther Injury,* and thereupon immediately shot him. Having thus done, they all went out of Doors again; and that the Neighbourhood might suppose the Firing the Pistol to have been without any ill Intention, Blewit fired another in the Street over the Tops of the Houses, saying aloud, *They were got safe into Town, and there was no Danger of meeting any Rogues there.* Ball attempted to get as far as the Door, but in vain, for he dropped immediately, and died in a few Minutes afterwards.

Having thus executed their barbarous Design, they went down from Ball's House directly towards the Falcon, intending to cross the Water back again. By the Way they met with Higgs, who was making to the Water-side likewise; him they fell upon, and rated for a pusillanimous Dog, that would desert them in an Affair of such Consequence, and then Burnworth proposed to shoot him, which 'tis believed he would have done, had not Marjoram interposed, and pleaded for the sparing his Life. From the Falcon-Stairs they crossed to Pig-Stairs; and there consulting how to spend the Evening, they resolved to go to the Boar's-Head Tavern in Smithfield, as not being there known, and being at a Distance from the Water-side, in Case any Pursuit should be made after them, on Account of the Murder. At this Place they continued till near Ten of the Clock, when they separated themselves into Parties

Parties for that Night. This Murder made them more cautious of appearing in publick ; and Blewit, Berry, and Dickenson soon after set out for Harwich, and went over in a Packer-boat from thence for Helvoet-Slays.

Higgs also being in Fear, shipped himself at Spithead, where he began to be a little at ease ; but Justice quickly overtook him ; for his Brother who lived in Town, having wrote a Letter to him, and given it to a Ship-Mate of his, this Man accidentally fell into Company with one Arthur a Watchman, of St. Sepulchre's Parish, and pulling the Letter by Chance out of his Pocket, the Watchman saw the Direction, and recollecting that Higgs was a Companion of Frazier's. Upon this he sends Word to Mr. Delafay, Under Secretary of State, and proper Persons were immediately dispatched to Spithead, who seized and brought him up in Custody. Wilson, another of his Confederates, withdrew about the same Time, and preserved himself from being heard of for a considerable Time.

Burnworth with some Companions continued to carry on their rapacious Plunderings, and as they kept pretty well united, and were resolute, they were too strong to be apprehended. Amongst the rest of their Pranks, they stopped the Chair of the Earl of Harborough in Piccadilly ; but the Chairmen drawing their Poles, and knocking one of the Robbers down, the Earl came out of the Chair, and after a smart Dispute, in which Burnworth shot one of the Chairmen in the Shoulder, they rais'd their wounded Companion, and withdrew. About this Time a Proclamation was published for the apprehending Burnworth, Blewit, &c. it being justly suppos'd that none but Men guilty of these Outrages, could be the Persons concerned in the Murder of Ball. A Gentleman who had bought one of these Papers, came into an Alehouse in White-Cross-street, and read it publickly. The Discourse of the Company turning upon the Impossibility of the Persons concerned making their Escape. Marjoram one of the Gang who was there, unknown, weighing the Thing with himself, retired immedately into the Fields, where loitering about till Evening, he then stole into Smithfield, and going to a Constable, surrendered himself as an Accomplice in the Murder of Ball, desiring to be carried before the Lord Mayor, that he might put himself in a Way of obtaining a Pardon, and the Reward promised by the Proclamation. That Night he was confined in Woodstreet Compter, his Lordship not being at Leisure to examine him.

The next Day the Noise of his Surrender being spread all over the Town, many of his Companions changed their Lodgings, and provided for their Safety ; but Barton planting himself in the Way, as Marjoram was carrying to Goldsmiths Hall, he popped out upon him at once, though the Constable had him by the Arm, and presenting a Pistol to him, said, *D——n ye I'll kill you.* Marjoram at the Sound of his Voice duck'd his Head, and he immedately firing, the Ball graz'd only on his Back, without doing him any Hurt. The Surprize with which they were all struck who were assisting the Constable, gave an Opportunity to Barton to retire, after his committing such an Insult on publick Justice, as perhaps was never heard of. Marjoram proceeded, and made a full Discovery of all the Transactions in which he had been concerned, Legee being taken that Night by his Directions in White-Cross-street, and committed to Newgate.

Burnworth was now deprived of his old Associates, yet he went on at his old Rate by himself ; for a few Nights after, he broke open the House of Mr. Beezely a great Distiller, in Clare Market, and took away from thence Notes to a very great Value, with a Quantity of Plate, which mistaking for white Metal he threw away. One Benjamin Jones picked it up, and was thereupon hanged, being one of the Number under Sentence, when the Condemned-

Hold was shut up, and the Criminals refused to submit to the Keepers. Burnworth was particularly described in the Proclamation, and three hundred Pounds offered to any who would apprehend him ; yet so audacious was he to come to a House in Holborn, and laying a Pistol down loaded on the Table, called for a Pint of Beer, which he drank and paid for, defying any Body to touch him, though they knew him to be the Person mentioned in the Proclamation.

It happened at this Time, that one Christopher Leonard was in Prison for some such Feats as Burnworth had been guilty of, who lodged at the same Time with Leonard's Wife and Sister ; who supposing nothing could so effectually recommend to him the Mercy of the Government, as the procuring Frazier to be apprehended, he, accordingly made the Proposal, by his Wife, to Persons in Authority, and the Project being approved, they appointed a sufficient Force to seize him, who were placed at an adjoining Alehouse, where the Wife of Kit Leonard was to give them the Signal. About Six of the Clock in the Evening, on Shrove Tuesday, Kate Leonard and her Sister, and Burnworth, being all together, Kate Leonard proposed to fry some Pancakes for Supper, which the other two approved of ; accordingly her Sister set about them. Burnworth had put off his Surtout Coat, in the Pocket whereof he had several Pistols. There was a little back Door which Burnworth usually kept upon the Latch, only in order to make his Escape, if he should be surprized. This Door Kate fastened unperceived by Burnworth, and whilst her Sister was trying the Pancakes, went to the Alehouse for a Pot of Drink ; when having given the Men who were there waiting for him the Signal, she returned, and entring the House, pretended to lock the Door after her, but designedly missed the Staple : The Door being thus upon the jar only, as she gave the Drink to Burnworth, Six Persons rushed into the Room. Burnworth hearing the Noise, and fearing his Surprise, jump'd up, thinking to have made his Escape at the back Door, not knowing it to be bolted ; but they were upon him before he could get it open, and holding his Hands behind him, one of them ty'd them, whilst another, to intimidate him, fired a Pistol over his Head. Having thus secured him, they immediately carried him before a Justice of Peace, who after a long Examination committed him to Newgate. Notwithstanding his Confinement in that Place, he communicated to his Companions, the Suspicions he had of Kate Leonard's betraying him, and the Danger there was of her detecting some of the rest. They were easily induced to treat her as they had done Ball, and one of them fired a Pistol at her, just as she was entring her own House ; but that missing, they made two or three other Attempts of the same Nature, untill the Justices of the Peace placed a Guard thereabouts, in order to secure her from being killed, and if possible to seize those who should attempt it, after which they heard no more of these Attacks.

In Newgate they confined Burnworth to the Condemned-Hold, and took what other Precautions they thought proper, in order to secure so dangerous a Person, who, they were aware, meditated nothing but how to escape. He was in this Condition when Barton, Scraft &c. were under Sentence, and it was shrewdly suspected that he put them upon a new Attempt of breaking out, which failed of Success. The Keepers upon Suspicion of his being the Projector of this Enterprize, removed him into the Bilboa Room, and there loaded him with Irons, yet nothing could break the Stubbornness of his Temper, which urged him continually to force his Way thro' all Opposition, and regain his Liberty, in order to practise more Villainies. It is impossible to say how, but by some Method or other he had procured Saws, Files, and other Instruments for this Purpose. With these he first released himself from his Irons, then broke

broke thro' the Wall of the Room in which he was lodg'd, and got into the Women's Apartment, the Window of which being fortified with three Tire of Iron Bars, he forced one of them in a little Time. While he was filing the next, one of the Women gave the Keepers Notice, whereupon they came and dragged him back to the Condemned Hold, and there stapled him down to the Ground.

WILLIAM BLEWIT, who next to Frazier, was the chief Person in the Gang, was one of St. Giles's Breed, his Father a Porter, and his Mother at the Time of his Execution, selling Greens in the same Parish. They were both of them unable to give their Son Education, or otherwise to provide for him, which occasioned his being put out by the Parish to a Perfumer of Gloves; but his Temper inclining him to wicked Practices, he soon got himself into a Gang of young Pick-pockets, with whom he practised several Years with Impunity; but being at last apprehended in the very Fact, he was committed to Newgate, convicted the next Sessions, and ordered for Transportation. Being shipped on Board the Vessel with other Wretches in the same Condition, he was quickly let into the Secret, of their having provided for an Escape. Blewit immediately foresaw Abundance of Difficulties in their Design, and therefore resolved to make a sure Use of it for his own Advantage, which he did, by communicating all to the Captain, who immediately seiz'd their Tools, and prevented the Loss of his Ship. In return for this Service, Blewit obtained his Freedom, but before he had been two Months in Town, somebody seizing him, and committing him to Newgate, at the next Sessions he was tried for returning from Transportation, and convicted; but pleading the Service he had done, in preventing the Attempt of the other Malefactors, Execution was respite till the Return of the Captain, and on his Report the Sentence was changed into a new Transportation, to what foreign Port he would: But he no sooner regain'd his Liberty, than he put it to the same Use as before, till he got into Acquaintance with Burneworth and his Gang, who taught him other Methods of robbing. He had, to his other Crimes, added the Marriage of several Wives, of which the first had so great a Love for him, that upon her visiting him at Newgate, the Day before they sat out for Kingston, she fell down dead in the Lodge; another of his Wives married Emanuel Dickenson, and she survived them both.

His meeting Burneworth that Afternoon before Ball's Murder was accidental, but the Savageness of his Temper led him to quick Compliance with that wicked Proposition. After the Commission of that Fact, tho' he with his Companions went over to Holland, they were so uneasy there, that they were constantly perusing the English News Papers, at the Coffee-Houses in Rotterdam, that they might gain Intelligence of what Methods had been taken to apprehend the Persons concerned in Ball's Murder; resolving, on the first News of a Proclamation, or other Interposition of the State on that Occasion, to quit the Dominions of the Republick. But as Burneworth had been betrayed by the only Persons from whom he could hope for Assistance, and Higgs seized on Board a Ship, where he fancied himself secure, so Blewit and his Associates, tho' they endeavoured to acquaint themselves with the Transactions at London, relating to them, fell also into the Hands of Justice, when they least expected it.

The Proclamation for apprehending them came no sooner into the Hands of Mr. Finch, the British Resident at the Hague, but he caused an Enquiry to be made, whether any such Persons as were therein described, had been seen at Rotterdam; and being assured that there had, and that they were lodged at the Hamburg Arms on the Boom-Keys in that City, he sent away a special Messenger to enquire the Truth thereof; of which he was no sooner sa-

tisfied, than he procured an Order from the States-General for apprehending them anywhere within the Province. By Virtue of this Order, the Messenger, with the Assistance of proper Officers, apprehended Blewit at the House whither they had been directed; but Dickenson and Berry had left him, and were gone on Board a Ship, not caring to remain any longer in Holland. They conducted their Prisoner to the Stadt-house Prison in Rotterdam, and then went to the Brill; where the Sloop, on Board which his Companions were, not being cleared out, they surprized them also, and sent them under a strong Guard to Rotterdam, where they were put in the same Place with their old Associate Blewit. We shall now take an Opportunity to speak of each of them.

EMANUEL DICKENSON was the Son of a very worthy Person. The Lad was ever ungovernable in his Temper, and being left a Child at his Father's Death, himself, his Brother, and several Sisters, they unfortunately addicted themselves to evil Courses. Emanuel having addicted himself to picking of Pockets for a considerable Space, at last attempting to snatch a Gentleman's Hat off in the Strand, he was seized with it in his Hand, and committed to Newgate, and at the next Sessions convicted, and ordered for Transportation; but his Mother applying at Court for a Pardon, and setting forth the Merit of his Father, procured his Discharge; the only Use he made of which, was to associate himself with his old Companions; who, by Degree, led him into greater Villaines, till he was with the rest drawn into the Murther of Ball.

THOMAS BERRY was descended from Parents in the most wretched Circumstances, who suffered him to idle about the Streets, and get into such Gangs of Thieves, as taught him from his Infancy the Art of Diving. He did not always meet with Impunity; for besides getting into the little Prisons, and being whip'd several Times, he had been thrice in Newgate, and for the last Fact ordered for Transportation: However, by some Means or other, he got away from the Ship, and returned quickly to his old Employment; in which he had not continued long, before falling into the Acquaintance of Burneworth it brought him to the Commission of Murder, and after that with great Justice to an ignominious Death.

After they were all Three secured, the Resident dispatched an Account thereof to England, whereupon he received Directions for applying to the States-General for Leave to send them back. This was readily granted, and six Soldiers were ordered to attend them on Board, besides the Messengers who were sent to fetch them. Captain Samuel Taylor, in the Delight Sloop, brought them safe to the Nore, where they were met by two other Messengers, who assisted in taking Charge of them up the River. In the Midst of all the Miseries they suffered, and the Certainty they had of being doom'd to suffer much more asoon as they came on Shore, yet they behaved themselves with the greatest Gaiety imaginable. On their Arrival at the Tower, they were put into a Boat with the Messengers, with three other Boats to guard them, each filled with a Corporal and a File of Musketeers; and in this Order they were brought to Westminster; where after being examined before Justice Chalk and Justice Blakely, they were conducted by a Party of Foot-Guards to Newgate, through a continued Lane of Spectators, who proclaimed their Joy, at seeing these egregious Villains in the Hands of Justice.

On their Arrival at Newgate the Keepers having put them on each a Pair of the heaviest Irons in the Goal, they next did them the Honour of conducting them up Stairs, to their old Friend Etzziel Burneworth, who congratulated them on their safe Arrival, and they condoled with him on his Confinement.

Being exhorted to apply the little Time they had to live in preparing themselves for another World, *Burnworth* replied, *If they had any Inclination to think of a future State, yet so many Persons as were admitted to see them, must needs divert any good Thoughts.* But their Minds were totally taken up with consulting the most likely Means to make their Escapes, and all their Actions shewed their Thoughts were bent only on Enlargement, and that they were altogether unmindful of Death, or at least careless of the future Consequence thereof.

On Wednesday the 30th of March, 1726, *Burnworth*, *Blewit*, *Berry*, *Dickenson*, *Legee* and *Higgs*, were all put into a Waggon, Hand-cuff'd and chain'd, and carried to *Kingston*; under a Guard of the Duke of Bolton's Horse. At their coming out of *Newgate* they were very merry, charging the Guard to take Care that no Misfortune happened to them, and calling upon the Spectators, as to shew the Respect they bore them, by Hallowing, and paying them the Compliments due to Gentlemen of their Profession. As they passed along the Road, they frequently threw Money among the People who followed them, diverting themselves with seeing the others strive for it; and particularly *Blewit* having thrown out some Halfpence amongst the Mob, a little Boy picked up one of them, and calling out to *Blewit*, said, *As sure as you will be condemned at Kingston, so sure will I have your Name engraved hereon.* Whereupon *Blewit* took a Shilling out of his Pocket, and gave it to the Boy, telling him, *There was something towards defraying the Charge of Engraving.*

On the 31st of March, the Assizes were opened, before the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Raymond, and Mr. Justice Denton; and the Grand Jury having found Indictments against the Prisoners, they were severally arraigned thereupon, when Five of them pleaded not guilty; but *Burnworth* absolutely refused to plead at all; upon which, after being advised by the Judge, not to force the Court upon that Rigour, his Thumbs were ty'd and strain'd with a Packthread; which having no Effect upon him, the Sentence of the Press was read to him, and he still continuing contumacious, was carried down to the Stock House, and the Press laid upon him. He continued one Hour and three Minutes, under the Weight of three hundred, three Quarters, and two Pounds, endeavouring to beat out his Brains against the Floor; during which Time, the High-Sheriff himself was present, and frequently exhorted him to plead to the Indictment; which at last he consented to do. Being brought up to the Court, after a Trial which lasted from Eight in the Morning, till One in the Afternoon, on the first Day of April, they were all Six found guilty of the Indictment, and being remanded back to the Stock House, were all chained and stapled down to the Floor. Whilst they were under Conviction, they diverted themselves with repeating Jests and Stories of various Natures, particularly of the Manner of their Escapes before out of the Hands of Justice, and the Robberies and Offences they had committed; and it being proposed for the Satisfaction of the World, for them to leave the Particulars of the several Robberies by them committed, *Burnworth* replied, *That were he to write all the Robberies by him committed, an hundred Sheets of Paper, wrote as close as could be, would not contain them.*

On Monday, the 4th Day of April, they were brought up again from the Stock-House, to receive Sentence of Death. When Sentence was passed, they entreated Leave for their Friends to visit them in the Prison, which was granted them by the Court,

but with a strict Injunction to the Keeper to be careful over them. After they returned to the Prison, they bent their Thoughts wholly on making their Escape, and for that Purpose had procured proper Implements for the Execution for it. *Burnworth*'s Mother being surprized with several Files, &c. about her, and the whole Plot discovered by *Blewit*'s Mother, who was heard to say, *That she had forgot the Opium.* It seems the Scheme was to murder the two Persons who attended them in the Goal, together with Mr. *Elliot* the Turnkey. After they had got out they intended to have fired a Stack of Bavins adjoining to the Prison, and thereby amused the Inhabitants while they got clear off. *Burnworth*'s Mother was confined for this Attempt; in his Favour; and some lesser Implements that were sewed up in the Waistbands of their Breeches being ripped out, all Hopes of Escape whatsoever were now taken away; yet *Burnworth* affected to keep up the same Spirit with which he hitherto behaved, and talked to one of his Guard, of coming in the Night in a dark Entry, and pulling him by the Nose, if he did not see him decently buried.

About Ten of the Clock on Wednesday Morning, (viz. April the 6th, 1726) they, together with one *Blackburn*, who was condemned for robbing on the Highway, a Fellow grossly ignorant and stupid, were carried out in a Cart to their Execution, being attended by a Company of Foot to the Gallows. In their Passage thither, that audacious Carriage in which they had so long persisted, totally forsook them, and they appeared with all that Seriousness and Devotion, which might be looked for, from Persons in their Condition. *Blewit* perceiving one Mr. *Warwick* among the Spectators, desired that he might stop to speak to him, which being granted, he threw himself upon his Knees, and earnestly entreated his Pardon, for having once attempted his Life, by presenting a Pistol at him, upon Suspicion that Mr. *Warwick* had given an Information against him. When at the Place of Execution and tied up, *Blewit* and *Dickenson* especially, pray'd with great Fervour, and a becoming Earnestness, exhorting all the young Persons they saw, to take Warning by them, and not follow such Courses as might in Time bring them to so terrible an End.

Blewit acknowledged, that for six Years he had lived by Stealing and Pilfering only. He had given all the Cloaths he had to his Mother, but being informed that he was to be hung in Chains, he desired his Mother might return them to prevent his being put up in his Shirt: He then desired the Executioner to tye him up so, that he might be as soon out of his Pain as possible: Then he set the Penitential Psalm, and repeated the Words of it to the other Criminals; then they all kissed one another; and, after some private Devotions, the Cart drew away, and they were turned off. *Dickenson* died very hard, kicking off one of his Shoes, and loosing the other. Their Bodies were carried back under the same Guard which attended them to their Execution. *Burnworth* and *Blewit* were afterwards hung up in Chains, over-against the Sign of the Fighting-Cocks in St. George's Fields: *Dickenson* and *Berry* were hung up on Kennington Common; but the Sheriff of Surry had Orders to suffer his Relations to take down the Body of *Dickenson* after its hanging up one Day, which Favour was granted on Account of his Father's Service in the Army, who was killed at his Post, when the Confederate Army besieged Aix, in the late War. *Legee* and *Higgs* were hung up on Putney-Common, beyond Wandsworth.

The LIFE of CATHERINE HAYES.

CATHERINE HALL, afterwards Catherine Hayes, was born in the Year 1690, at a Village on the Borders of Warwickshire, within four Miles of Birmingham. Her Parents were so poor as to receive the Assistance of the Parish, and so careless of their Daughter, that they never gave her the least Education. While a Girl she discovered Marks of so violent and turbulent a Temper, that she totally threw off all Respect and Obedience to her Parents, giving a loose to her Passions, and gratifying herself in all her vicious Inclinations.

About the Year 1705, some Officers coming into the Neighbourhood to recruit, Kate was so much taken with the Fellows in Red, that she strolled away with them, till they came to a Village called Great Ombersley in Warwickshire, where they very unmercifully left her behind them. This Elopement of her Sparks drove her almost mad, so that she went like a distracted Creature about the Country, till coming to Mr. Hayes's Door, his Wife in Compassion took her in out of Charity. The eldest Child in the Family was John Hayes the Deceased, who being then about 21 Years of Age, found so many Charms in this Catherine Hall, that he quickly made Proposals to her of Marriage. There is no doubt of their being readily enough received, and as they both were sensible how disagreeable a Thing it would be to his Parents, agreed to keep it secret. They quickly adjusted the Measures that were to be taken, in order to their being married at Worcester. Mr. John Hayes pretended that he wanted some Tools in the Way of his Trade, *viz.* that of a Carpenter, for which it was necessary he should go to Worcester; and under this Colour he procured also as much Money as was sufficient to defray the Expence of the intended Wedding.

Catherine having privately quitted the House, and meeting at the appointed Place, they accompanied each other to Worcester, where the Wedding was soon celebrated. The same Day Mrs. Catherine Hayes had the Fortune to meet with some of her Acquaintance, who had dropped her at Ombersley; who understanding where the Nuptials were to be solemnized, consulted among themselves how to make a Penny of the Bridegroom. Accordingly, at Evening, just as Mr. Hayes was got into Bed to his Wife, they coming to the House where he lodged, forcibly entered the Room, and dragged the Bridegroom away, pretending to impress him for her Majesty's Service. This Proceeding broke the Measures Mr. John Hayes had concerted with his Wife, to keep their Wedding secret; for finding no Redemption without a larger sum of Money than he was Master of, he was necessitated to let his Father know of his Misfortune. Mr. Hayes hearing of his Son's Adventures, his Resentment did not extinguish his Affection for him as a Father, but he resolved to deliver him from his Troubles; and accordingly taking a Gentleman in the Neighbourhood along with him, he went for Worcester. At their Arrival there, they found Mr. John Hayes in the Hands of the Officers, who insisted upon detaining him for her Majesty's Service; but his Father, and the Gentleman he brought with him, soon made them sensible of their Error, and they were glad to discharge him immediately. But Mrs. Catherine, who better

approved of a travelling than a settled Life, persuaded her Husband to enter himself a Volunteer, in a Regiment then at Worcester, which he did, and went abroad with them, where he continued for some Time.

Mr. John Hayes being in Garrison in the Isle of Wight, and not content with such a lazy, indolent Life, solicited his Father to procure his Discharge, which at length he was prevailed upon to consent to; but the several Journeys he was necessitated to take, and the Expences of procuring such Discharge, amounted to about sixty Pounds. The Father then, the better to induce him to settle himself in the Country, put him into an Estate of ten Pounds per annum, but Mr. John Hayes representing to his Father, that it was not possible for him and his Wife to live on that, persuaded his Father to let him have also a Leasehold of sixteen Pounds per annum; upon which he lived during the Continuance of the Lease.

The Characters of Mr. John Hayes and his Wife were vastly different: He had the Repute of a sober honest peaceable Man, and a very good Husband; the only Objection against him was, that he was of too frugal a Temper, and rather too indulgent of his Wife. She was on all hands allowed to be a very turbulent Person, never free from Quarrels in the Neighbourhood, and fomenting Disputes to the Disturbance of all her Friends. They lived in the Country for the Space of about six Years, until the Lease of the last mentioned Farm expired, about which Time, Mrs. Hayes persuaded her Husband to leave the Country, and come to London.

In the Year 1719, upon their Arrival in Town, they took a House Part of which they let out in Lodgings, and sold Sea Coal, Chardery Ware, &c. whereby they lived in a handsome creditable Manner. In this Business they picked up Money, and Mr. Hayes received the yearly Rent of the first mentioned Estate, tho' in Town, and by lending out Money in small Sums amongst his Country People improved the same considerably. She would frequently, in speaking of Mr. Hayes, give him the best of Characters; tho' to some of her particular Friends, who knew not Mr. Hayes's Temper, she would exclaim against him, and say, that it was no Sin to kill him, and that one Time or other she might give him a Polt. Afterwards they removed into Fleet-street Court-Road, where they lived for some Time, following the same Business as formerly; from whence about two Years afterwards they removed into Fleet-street, a few Doors above where the Murder was committed. There they lived about twelve Months, Mr. Hayes still supporting himself in lending out Money upon Pledges, and sometimes working at his Profession, and in Husbandry, till it was computed he had picked up a pretty handsome Sum of Money. About ten Months before the Murder, they removed to the House of Mr. Whinyard, where the Murder was committed, taking Lodgings up two Pair of Stairs. There it was, that Thomas Bilings a Taylor, who wrought Journeywork about Monmouth street, under Pretence of being Mrs. Hayes's Countryman, came to see them. They invited him to lodge with them; he did so, and continued in the House till about six Weeks before the Death of Mr. Hayes. About the same Time Thomas Wood, who was

was a Neighbours Son in the Country, and an intimate Acquaintance both of Mr. Hayes and his Wife, came to Town, and pressing being at that Time very hot, he was obliged to quit his Lodgings, whereupon Mr. Hayes very kindly invited him to accept of the Conveniences of theirs. Wood accepted the Offer, and lay with Billings. In three or four Days Time Mrs. Hayes having taken an Opportunity, opened to him a Desire of being rid of her Husband, at which Wood, as he very well might, was exceedingly surprized, and demonstrated the Baseness as well as Cruelty there would be in such an Action, if committed by him, who besides the general Ties of Humanity, stood particularly oblig'd to him as his Neighbour and his Friend. Mrs. Hayes in order to hush these Scruples, persuaded him that her Husband was void of all Religion and Goodness, an Enemy to God, and therefore unworthy of his Protection; that he had killed a Man in the Country, and destroyed two of his and her Children, one of which was buried under an Apple-Tree, the other under a Pear-Tree, in the County. To these fictitious Tales, she added another, which perhaps had the greatest Weight, viz. That if he were dead, she should be Mistress of fifteen hundred Pounds. And then, says she, you may be Master thereof if you will help to get him out of the Way, Billings has agreed to it if you'll make a Third, and so all may be finisht without Danger,

A few Days after this, Woods Occasions called him out of Town: On his Return, which was on the first Day of March, he found Mr. Hayes and his Wife, and Billings, very merry together. Amongst other Things which passed in Conversation, Mr. Hayes happened to say, That he and another Person once drank as much Wine between them, as came to a Guinea, without either of them being fuddled. Billings upon this, proposed a Wager on these Terms, That half a dozen Bottles of the best Mountain should be fetched, which if Mr. Hayes could drink without being disordered, then Billings should pay for it, but if not, then it should be at the Cost of Mr. Hayes; who accepting of this Proposal, Mrs. Hayes and the two Men went to the Brazen Head in New Bond-street to fetch the Wine. As they were going thither, she put them in Mind of the Proposition she made them to Murder Mr. Hayes, and said they could not have a better Opportunity than when he should be intoxicated with Liquor; whereupon Wood made Answer, that it would be a most inhuman Act to Murder a Man in cool Blood, and that too when he was in Liquor. Mrs. Hayes had recourse to her old Arguments, and Billings joining with her, Wood sufferr'd himself to be over-power'd. When they came to the Tavern they called for a Pint of the best Mountain, and after they had drank it order'd a Gallon and a Half to be sent home to their Lodgings; which was done accordingly, and Mrs. Hayes paid Ten Shillings and six Pence for it, which was what it came to. Then they came all back and sat down together to see Mr. Hayes drink the Wager, and while he swallowed the Wine, they called for two three full Pots of Beer, in order to entertain themselves.

Mr. Hayes when he had almost finished his Wine, began to grow very merry, Singing and Dancing about the Room, with all the Gaiety which is natural. But Mrs. Hayes fearful of his not having his Dose, sent away privately for another Bottle, of which having drank some also, it quite finished the Work, by depriving him totally of his Understanding; however, reeling into the other Room, he there threw himself a-cross the Bed, and fell fast asleep. No sooner did his Wife perceive it, than she came to the two Men to go in and do the Work; then Billings taking a Coal-Hatchet in his Hand going into the other Room, struck Mr. Hayes therewith on the Back of his Head, which Blow fractur'd his Skull, and made him, thro' the Agony of the Pain, stamp violently upon the Ground; insomuch that it alarmed

the People who lay in the Garret; and Wood fearing the Consequence, went in and repeated the Blows, tho' that was needless, since the first was mortal of itself, and he already lay quiet. By this Time Mrs. Springate, whose Husband lodged over Mr. Hayes's Head, on hearing the Noise, came down to enquire the Reason of it, complaining at the same Time, that it so disturbed her Family, that they could not rest: Mrs. Hayes thereupon told her, That her Husband had had some Company with him, who growing merry with their Liquor were a little noisy; but that they were going immediately, and desired she would be easy. Upon this she went up again for the present, and the three Murderers began immediately to consult how to get rid of the Body.

The Men were in so much Terrore and Confusion, that they knew not what to do; but the Wife of the Deceased quickly thought of an Expedient in which they all agreed. She said, That if the Head was cut off, there would not be near so much Difficulty in carrying off the Body, which could not be known.

In order to put this Design in Execution, they got a Pail, and she herself carrying the Candle, they all entered the Room where the deceased lay. Then the Woman holding the Pail, Billings drew the Body by the Head over the Bed side, that the Blood might run the more freely into it; and Wood with his Pocket Penknife cut it off. A soon as it was severed from the Body, and the Bleeding was over, they poured the Blood down a Wooden Sink at the Window, and after it several Pails of Water, in order to wash it quite away, that it might not be perceiv'd in the Morning; however, their Precautions were not altogether effectual, for Springate the next Morning found several Clods of Blood, but not suspecting any thing of the Matter, threw them away; neither had they escaped letting some Tokens of their Cruelty fall upon the Floor, stained the Wall of the Room, and even the Ceiling, which it may be supposed happened at the giving the first Blow. When they had finisht this Decollation, they again consulted what was next to be done. Mrs. Hayes was for boiling it in a Pot, till nothing but the Skull remained, which would effectually prevent any body's knowing to whom it belonged; but the two Men thinking this too dilatory a Method, they resolv'd to put it in a Pail, and go together and throw it in the Thames. Springate hearing a bustling in Mr. Hayes's Room for some Time, and then somebody going down Stairs, called again to know who it was, and what was the Occasion of it, (it being then about Eleven a Clock) to which Mrs. Hayes answered, It was her Husband, who was going a Journey into the Country.

Billings and Wood being thus gone to dispose of the Head, went towards Whitehall, intending to have thrown it into the River there; but the Gates being shut up, they were obliged to go forward as far as Mr. Macraib's Wharf, near the Horse-Ferry at Westminster, where Billings setting down the Pail from under his Great Coat, Wood took up the same with the Head therein, and threw it into the Dock before the Wharf. It was expected the same would have been carried away by the Tide, but the Water being then ebbing, it was left behind. There were also some Lighters lying over-against the Dock, and one of the Lightermen walking then on board, saw them throw the Pail into the Dock, but by the Obscurity of the Night, the Distance, and having no Suspicion, did not apprehend any thing of the Matter. Having thus done, they returned home again to Mrs. Hayes's, where they arrived about Twelve a-Clock, and being let in, found the Wife of the Deceased had been very busily employed in washing the Floor, and scraping the Blood off from it, and from the Wall, &c. After which they all three went into the Fore-Room; Billings and Wood went to Bed there, and Mrs. Hayes sat by them till Morning.

In the Morning of the Second of March, about the dawning of the Day, one Robin'm a Watchman saw a Man's Head lying in the Dock, and a Pail near it: His Surprise occasioned his calling some Peitors to assist in taking up the Head, and finding the Pail bloody, they conjectured the Head had been brought thither in it. Their Suspicions were fully confirmed therein by the Lighterman, who saw Billings and Wood throw the same into the Dock, as before mentioned. It was now Time for Mrs. Hayes, Billings, and Wood, to consider how they should dispose of the Body: Mrs. Hayes and Wood proposed to put it in a Box, where it might lay concealed till a convenient Opportunity offered for removing it; this being approved of, Mrs. Hayes brought a Box, but upon their endeavouring to put it in, the Box was not big enough to hold it. They had before wrapped it up in a Blanket, out of which they took it. Mrs. Hayes proposed to cut off the Arms and Legs, and they again attempted to put it in, but the Box would not hold it; then they cut off the Thighs, and laying them Piece-meal in the Box, concealed them till Night. In the mean Time Mr. Hayes's Head, which had been found as before, had sufficiently alarmed the Town, and Information was given to the neighbouring Justices of the Peace. The Parish Officers did all that was possible towards the Discovery of the Persons guilty of so horrid an Action; they caused the Head to be cleaned, the Face to be washed from the Dirt and Blood, and the Hair to be combed, and then the Head to be set upon a Post in publick View in St. Margaret's Church-Yard, Westminster, that every Body might have free Access to see the same, with some of the Parish Officers to attend, hoping by that Means a Discovery of the same might be attained. The High-Constable of Westminster Liberty, also issued private Orders to all the petty Constables, Watchmen, and other Officers of that District, to keep a strict Eye on all Coaches, Carts, &c. passing in the Night through their Liberty, imagining that the Perpetrators of such a horrid Fact would endeavour to free themselves of the Body, in the same Manner as they had done of the Head. These Orders were executed for some Time, with all the Secrecy imaginable, under various Pretences, but unsuccessfully; the Head also continued to be exposed for some Days in the Manner before described, which drew a prodigious Number of People to see it, but without attaining any Discovery of the Murderers.

On the Second of March in the Evening, Catherine Hays, Thomas Wood, and Thomas Billings, took the Body and disjointed Members out of the Box, and wrapped them up in two Blankets, viz. the Body in one, and the Limbs in the other: Then Billings and Wood first took up the Body, and about Nine a Clock in the Evening carried it by Turns into Mary-le-bone Fields, and threw the same into a Pond, (which Wood in the Daytime had been hunting for) and returning back again about Eleven, took up the Limbs in the other old Blanket, and carried them by Turns to the same Place, throwing them in also. About Twelve a Clock the same Night, they returned back again, and knocking at the Door, were let in by Mary Springate. They went up to Bed in Mrs. Hayes's Fore-Room, and Mrs. Hayes staid with them all Night, sometimes sitting up, and sometimes laying down upon the Bed by them. The same Day one Bennet, the King's Organ-maker's Apprentice, going to Westminster to see the Head, believed it to be Mr. Hayes's, he being intimately acquainted with him, and thereupon went and informed Mrs. Hayes, that the Head exposed to View in St. Margaret's Church-Yard, was so very like Mr. Hayes, that he believed it to be his; upon which Mrs. Hayes asserted him that Mr. Hayes was very well, and reproved him very sharply for forming such an Opinion, telling him he must be very cautious how he rais'd such false and scandalous Reports, for that he might

thereby bring himself into a great deal of Trouble. This Reprimand put a Stop to the Youth's saying any thing more about it. The same Day also Mr. Samuel Patrick having been at Westminster to see the Head, went from thence to Mr. Granger's at the Dog and Duck in Almonbury Street, where Mr. Hayes and his Wife were intimately acquainted, and told that the Head in his Opinion was the most like to their Countryman Hayes of any he ever saw.

Billings being there then at Work, some of the Servants replied it could not be his, because there being one of Mrs. Hayes's Lodgers there they should have heard of it by him if Mr. Hayes had been missing, or any Accident had happen'd to him; to which Billings made Answer that Mr. Hayes was alive and well, and that he left him in Bed when he came to work in the Morning. The third Day of March, Mrs. Hayes gave Wood a white Coat and a pair of Leatherne Breaches of Mr. Hayes's, which he carried with him to Greenwich, near Hurst on the Hill. Mrs. Springate observing Wood carrying these Things down Stairs bundled up in a white Cloath told Mrs. Hayes, who replied it was a Suit of Cloaths he had borrowed of a Neighbour, and was going to carry them home again. On the Fourth of March, the Mrs. Longmore coming to Visit Mrs. Hayes, enquired how Mr. Hayes did, and where he was: Mrs. Hayes answered, that he was gone to take a walk, and then enquired what News there was about Town. Her Visitor told her that most Peoples Discourse run upon the Man's Head that had been found at Westminster. Mrs. Hayes seemed to wonder very much at the wickedness of the Age, and exclaimed vehemently against such barbarous Murderers; adding, here is a Discourse too in our Neighbourhood, of a Woman who has been found in the fields, mangled and cut to pieces. It may be so reply'd, Mrs. Longmore, but I have heard nothing of it. On the Six h of March, the Parish Officers considering that it might putrify if it continued longer in the Air, agreed with one Mr. Westlock, a Surgeon, to have it preserved in Spirits. He having accordingly provided a proper Glass put it therein, and showed it to all Persons who were desirous of seeing; yet the Murther remained still undiscover'd; and notwithstanding the Multitude which had seen it, yet none pretended to be directly positive to the Face, tho' many agreed in their having seen it before.

In the mean Time Mrs. Hayes quitted her Lodgings, and removed from where the Murther was committed to Mr. Jones's a Distiller in the Neighbourhood, with Billings, Wood, and Springate, for whom she paid one Quarters Rent at her old Lodgings. She now employed herself in getting as much of her Husband's Effects as possible she could; and amongst other Papers and Securities, finding a Bond due to Mr. Hayes from John Davis, who had married Mr. Hayes's Sister, she consulted how to get in that Money: To which purpose she sent for one Mr. Leonardi Myring a Barber, and told him, that she knowing him to be her Husband's particular Friend, and he then being under some Misfortunes, thro' which she feared he would not presently return, she knew not how to recover several Sums of Money that were due to him, unless by sending fictitious Letters in his Name, to the several Persons from whom the same was due. Mr. Myring considering the Consequences of such a Proceeding, declining it. But she prevailed upon some other Person to write Letters in Mr. Hayes's Name, particularly one to his Mother, on the 14th of March to demand Ten Pounds of the abovementioned Mr. Davis, threatening if he refused, to sue him for it. This Letter Mr. Hayes's Mother received, and acquainting her Son-in-Law Davis with the Contents thereof, he offered to pay the Money on sending down the Bond, of which she by a Letter acquainted Mrs. Hayes on the Twenty-second of the same Month.

During these Transactions, several Persons came daily to Mr. Westbrook's to see the Head. A poor Woman at Kingland, whose Husband had been missing the Day before it was found, was one amongst them. She at first Sight fancied it bore some Resemblance to that of her Husband, but was not positive enough to swear it; yet her Suspicion at first was sufficient to ground a Report, which flew about the Town in the Evening, and some Enquiries were made after the Body of the Person to whom it was suppos'd to belong, but to no Purpose. Mr. Hayes in the mean While took all the Pains imaginable to propagate a Story of Mr. Hayes's withdrawing on Account of an unlucky Blow he had given a Person in a Quarrel, and which made him apprehensive of a Prosecution, though he was then in Treaty with the Widow in order to make it up. This Story she at first told with many Injunctions of Secrecy, to Persons who she had good Reasons to believe, would tell it again. It happened in the Interim, that one Joseph Ashby, who had been an intimate Acquaintance of Mr. Hayes's, came to see her: She with a great deal of pretended Concern, communicated the Tale she had framed to him. Mr. Ashby asked whether the Person he had killed was him to whom the Head belonged. She said, No; the Man who died by Mr. Hayes's Blow, was buried entire, and Mr. Hayes had given, or was about to give, a Security to pay the Widow fifteen Pounds per annum, to bush it up. Mr. Ashby enquired next, Where Mr. Hayes was gone. She said, to Portugal, with three or four foreign Gentlemen; and he thereupon took his Leave. But going from thence to Mr. Henry Longmore's, Cousin to Mr. Hayes, he related to him the Story Mrs. Hayes had told him, and expressed a great deal of Dissatisfaction thereat, desiring Mr. Longmore to go to her and make the same Enquiry as he had done, but without taking Notice they had seen one another. Mr. Longmore went thereupon directly to Mrs. Hayes's, and enquired in a peremptory Tone for her Husband. She in Answer said, She suppos'd Mr. Ashby had acquainted him with the Misfortune which had befallen him. Mr. Longmore replied, He had not seen Mr. Ashby for a considerable Time, and knew nothing of his Cousin's Misfortune. He then asked if he was in Prison for Debt? She answered him, No, 'twas worse than that. Mr. Longmore again importuning her to know what he had done, to occasion his absconding so, saying, I suppose he has not murdered any Body? she replied, He had, and beckoning him to come on the Stairs, related to him the Story as beforementioned. Mr. Longmore being inquisitive which Way he was gone, she told him into Herefordshire, and that he had taken four Pistols with him for his Security, one under each Arm, and two in his Pockets. Mr. Longmore answered, 'twould be dangerous for him to travel in that Manner, because any Person seeing him so armed, might cause him to be apprehended on Suspicion of being an Highwayman. She assured him, that once he was apprehended on Suspicion of being an Highwayman, but that a Gentleman who knew him, accidentally came in, and seeing him in Custody, passed his Word for his Appearance, by which he was discharged. Mr. Longmore made Answer, that it was very improbable he was ever stopped on Suspicion of being an Highwayman, and discharged upon a Man's only passing his Word for his Appearance. He then demanded which Way he was supplied with Money for his Journey? She told him, She had sowed twenty six Guineas into his Cloaths, and that he had about him seventeen Shillings in new Silver. She added, that Springate who lodged there was privy to the whole Transaction, for which Reason she paid a Quarters Rent for her at her old Lodgings, and the better to maintair what she had averred, called Springate to justify the Truth of it. In concluding the Discourse, she reflected on the unkind Usage of Mr. Hayes towards her, which surprized Mr. Longmore, more than any Thing else she had said, be-

cause he had often been a Witness to her giving Mr. Hayes the Character of a most indulgent tender Husband.

Mr. Longmore then took his Leave of her, and returned back to his Friend Mr. Ashby; when after comparing their several Notes together, they judged that Mr. Hayes must have had very ill Play shewn him; upon which they agreed to go to Mr. Eaton a Lifeguardman, who was also an Acquaintance of Mr. Hayes's, which accordingly they did, intending him to have gone to Mrs. Hayes also, to have heard what Relation she would give him concerning her Husband. They went and enquired at several Places for him, but he was not then to be found; upon which they went down to Westminster to see the Head at Mr. Westbrook's. Mr. Ashby first went up Stairs to look on it, and coming down, told Mr. Longmore he really thought it to be Mr. Hayes's Head; upon which Mr. Longmore went up to see it, and after examining it more particularly, confirmed their Suspicion. Then they returned to seek out Mr. Eaton, and finding him at Home, informed him of their Proceedings, with the Reasons on which their Suspicions were grounded, and compelled him to go with them to enquire into the Affair. Mr. Eaton pressed them to stay Dinner with him, which at first they agreed to, but after altering their Minds, went all down to Mr. Longmore's House, and their renewed their Suspicions, not only of Mr. Hayes's being murdered, but also that his Wife was privy to the same; but in order to be more fully satisfied, they agreed that Mr. Eaton should in a Day or two's Time go and enquire for Mr. Hayes, taking no Notice of his having seen them. In the mean Time Longmore's Brother interfered, saying, That it seemed apparent to him, that his Cousin Hayes had been murdered, and that Mrs. Hayes appeared Guilty, with Wood and Billings, who, she told him, had drank with him the Night before his Journey. He added, moreover, that he thought Time was not to be delayed, because they might remove from their Lodgings upon the least Apprehensions of a Discovery.

His Opinion prevailed as the most reasonable, and Mr. Longmore said, they would go about it immediately. Accordingly to Mr. Justice Lambert he immediately applied, and acquainted him with the Grounds of their Suspicions, and their Desire of his granting a Warrant for the Apprehension of the Parties. The Justice, on hearing the Story, not only readily complied with their Demand, but said also, he would get proper Officers to execute it in the Evening, about Nine o'Clock; putting Mrs. Hayes, Thomas Wood, Thomas Billings, and Mary Springate, into a special Warrant for that Purpose. At the Hour appointed they met, and Mr. Eaton bringing two Officers of the Guards along with him, they went altogether to the House where Mrs. Hayes lodged. They went directly in, and up Stairs, at which Mr. Jones who kept the House, immediately demanded who and what they were? He was answered, that they were sufficiently authorized in all that they did, desiring him at the same Time to bring Candles, and he should see on what Occasion they came. Light being thereupon brought, they went all up Stairs together. Justice Lambert wrapped at Mrs. Hayes's Door with his Cane. She demanded who was there, for that she was in Bed, on which she was bid to get up and open the Door, or they would break it open. After some little Time taken to put on her Cloaths, she came and opened it, and as soon as they were in the Room, they saw Billings, who was sitting upon her Bed-side, without either Shoes or Stockings on. The Justice ask'd whether he had been in Bed with her? She said no, but that he sat there to mend his Stockings. Why then, replied Mr. Lambert, he had very good Eyes to see to do it without Fire or Candle. Hereupon they seized him too, and leaving Persons below to guard them, went up and apprehended Springate; and after an Examination,

thination in which they would confess nothing, committed Billings to New-Prison, Springate to the Gate-House, and Mrs Hayes to Tothill-Fields-Bridewell.

Mrs. Hayes was very assiduous in contriving such a Method of Behaviour as might carry the greatest Appearance of Innocence. She entreated Mr. Longmore that she might be admitted to see the Head, and Mr. Lambert ordered her to have a Sight of it as she came from Tothill-Fields-Bridewell to her Examination. Accordingly Mr. Longmore attending the Officers ordered the Coach to stop at Mr. Westbrook's Door, and as soon as she was admitted into the Room she threw herself down upon her Knees, crying out in great Agonies, Oh it is my dear Husband's Head! it is my dear Husband's Head! and embracing the Glass in her Arms, kissed the outside of it several Times. Mr. Westbrook coming in, told her, that if it was his Head she should have a plainer View of it, so taking it out of the Glass by the Hair he brought it to her: She taking it in her Arms, kissed it, and seemed in great Confusion, withal begging to have a Lock of his Hair; but Mr. Westbrook replied, that he was afraid she had had too much of his Blood already; At which she fainted away, and after recovering, was carried to Mr. Lambert, to be examined before him and some other Justices of the Peace. While these Things were in Agitation, one Mr. Huddle and his Servant walking in Mary-le-bone Fields in the Evening, espied something lying in one of the Ponds, which after they had examined, found to be the Legs, Thighs, and Arms of a Man. They being very much surprized at this, determined to search further; and the next Morning getting Assistance drained the Pond, where to their further Astonishment they pulled out the Body of a Man wrapped up in a Blanket, with the News of which, while Mrs. Hayes was under Examination, Mr. Crosby a Constable came down to the Justices, not doubting but this was the Body of Mr. Hayes. Yet tho' she was somewhat confounded at the new Discovery made hereby, she could not be prevailed on to make any Acknowledgment of her knowing any thing of the Fact; whereupon the Justices who examined her, committed her that Afternoon to Newgate, the Mob attending her thither with as loud Acclamations of Joy at her Commitment, as if they were already convinc'd of her Guilt.

Sunday Morning following, Thomas Wood came to Town from Greensford near Harrow, having heard nothing of the taking up of Mrs. Hayes, Billings, or Springate. The first Place he went to, was Mrs. Hayes's old Lodging, where he was answer'd that she was removed to Mr. Jones's a Distiller, a little farther in the Street; thither he went, where the People, knowing him to be suspected of the Murther, said Mrs. Hayes was gone to the Green Dragon in King-street, which is Mr. Longmore's House, and a Man who was there told him moreover that he was going thither and would shew him the way. Wood, being on Horseback followed him, and he led him the way to Mr. Longmore's House; when Mr. Longmore's Brother coming to the Door, and seeing Wood, immediately seized him, and unhorseing him dragged him in Doors, sent for Officers and charged them with him on suspicion of the Murder. From thence he was carried before Mr. Justice Lambert, who asked him many Questions in Relation to the Murder, but he would confess nothing, whereupon he was committed to Tothill-Fields-Bridewell. While he was there he heard the various Reports of Persons concerning the Murder, and Judging it impossible to prevent Discovery or evade the Proof that were against him, he resolved to make an ample Confession of the whole Affair; of which Mr. Lambert being acquainted, he, with John Mohun and Thomas Silt, Esqrs; two other Justices of the Peace, went to Tothill-Fields-Bridewell, to take his Examination, in which he seem'd very ingeni-

ous and ample, declaring all the particulars before mention'd, with this Addition, that he had been drawn into the Commission thereof partly thro' Poverty, and partly thro' her crafty Insinuations, who by feeding him with Liquors, had spirited him up to the Commission of such a Piece of Barbarity. He farther acknowledged, that ever since the Commission of the Fact, he had had no Peace, but that every Day, before he came from Greenford, he was fully persuaded within himself, that he should be seized for the Murther when he came to Town, notwithstanding which, he could not refrain coming, tho' under a kind of Certainty of being taken, and dying for the Fact.

Having thus made a full and ample Confession, and signed the same, on the 27th of March, his Mitimus was made by Justice Lambert, and he was committed to Newgate, whether he was carried under a guard of a Serjeant and eight Soldiers, with Muskets and Bayonets, to keep off the Mob, who were so exasperated against the Actors of such a piece of Barbarity, that without that Caution it would have been very difficult to have carried him thither alive.

On Monday the 28th of March, after Mrs. Hayes was committed to Newgate, being the Day after Wood's Apprehension, Joseph Meer going to see Mrs. Hayes, she told him as he was Thomas Billings's Friend as well as hers, she desired he would go to him and tell him, 'twas in vain to deny any longer the Murder of her Husband, for they were equally guilty, and both must die for it. Billings hearing this, and that Wood was apprehended, and had fully confess'd the whole Affair, thought it needless to persist any longer in a Denial, and therefore the next Day, being the 29th of March, he made a full and plain Discovery of the whole fact, agreeing with Wood in all the Particulars; which Confession was made and signed in the Presence of Gideon Harvey and Oliver Lambert, Esqrs; two of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, whereupon he was removed to Newgate the same Day that Wood was. Wood and Billings acquitting Springate of the aforesaid Murder, she was soon discharged from her Confinement; but this Discovery making a great Noise in the Town, divers of Mrs. Hayes's Acquaintance, went to visit her in Newgate, and examin'd into the Reasons that induced her to commit the said Fact. Her Acknowledgment in general was, that Mr. Hayes had proved but an indifferent Husband to her; that one Night he came home drunk and struck her; that upon complaining to Billings and Wood, they, or one of them, said, such a Fellow ought not to live, and that they would murder him for a Halfpenny. She took that Opportunity to propose her bloody Intentions to them, and her Willingness that they should do so; that she was acquainted with their Design, heard the Blow given to Mr. Hayes by Billings, and then went with Wood to them into the Room; that she held the Candle while his Head was cut off, and in Excuse for this bloody Fact, said, the Devil was got into them all that made them do it. When she was made sensible that her Crime in Law was not only Murther, but petty Treason, she began to shew great Concern indeed, making Enquiries into the Nature of the Proof which was necessary to convict, having possessed herself with a Notion, that unless it appeared she murthered him with her own Hands, it would not touch her Life; and therefore she was very angry that either Billings or Wood should acknowledge her guilty of the Murther, and subject her to that Punishment which of all others she most feared; often repeating it, that it was hard they would not suffer her to be hanged with them.

There are a Set of People about Newgate, who get their Living by imposing on unhappy Criminals, and persuading them that Guilt may be covered, and Justice avoided, by certain artful Contrivances in which they profess themselves Masters. Some of these

these had got access to this unhappy Woman, and had instilled into her a Notion, that the Confession of *Wood* and *Billings* could no Ways affect her Life. This made her vainly imagine, that there was no positive Proof against her, and that Circumstancials only, would not convict her. For this Reason she resolved to put herself upon a Trial contrary to her first Intentions. Accordingly being arraigned, she pleaded not Guilty, and put herself uppn her Trial. *Wood* and *Billings*, both pleaded Guilty to the same Indictment; at the same Time acknowledging their Guilt, and desiring to make Attorneyn for the same by the Loss of their Blood; only praying the Court would be graciously pleased to favour them so much as to dispense with their being hanged in Chains.

Mrs. Hayes having thus put herself upon her Trial, the King's Council opened the Indictment, setting forth the Heinousness of the Fact, the premeditated Intentions, and inhuman Method of acting it. Then *Richard Bromage*, *Robert Wilkins*, *Leonard Myring*, *Joseph Mercer*, *John Blakesby*, *Mary Springate* and *Richard Bowers*. were called into Court; the Substance of whose Evidence was, that the Prisoner being interrogated about the Murther, when in *Newgate*, said, *The Devil put it into her Head*; but however, *John Hayes* was none of the best of Husbands, for she had been half starved ever since she was married to him; that she ait not in the least repent of any Thing she had done, but only draving those two poor Men into this Misfortune; that she was six Weeks importuning them to do it, that they denied it two or three Times, but at last agreed; that she was in the Fore Room on the same Floor when he was killed; that when he was quite dead, she went in and hol't the Canale whilst *Wood* cut his Head off; that it wou'd signify nothing to make a long Preamble, she could hol'i up her Hand, and say she was guilty, for nothing could save her, no Body cou'l forgive her; that the first Occasion of this Design to murther him was, because he came home one Night and beat her; upon which *Billings* said, *this Fellow deserves to be killed*, and *Wood*, said, *he'd be his Butcher for a Penny*. Many other Circumstances equally with these appeared, and a Cloud of Witnesses, many of whom, the Thing appearing so plain, were sent away unexamined. She herself confessed at the Bar, her previous Knowledge of their Intent, yet foolishly insisted on her Innocence, because the Fact was not committed by her own Hands. The Jury without staying long to consider on it, found her Guilty, and she was taken from the Bar in a very weak and faint Condition. On her Return to *Newgate*, she was visited by several Persons of her Acquaintance, who where so far from doing her any Good, that they rather interrupted her in those Preparations which became her. One old Gentleman indeed, who seemed to have no other Motive in coming to see her, took an Opportunity of discoursing to her in a suitable and very rational Manner. This Discourse was taken down, but is too long to insert.

When they were brought up to receive Sentence, *Wood* and *Billings* renewed their former Request to the Court, that they might not be hung in Chains. *Mrs. Hayes* also made Use of her former Assertion, that she was not guilty of actually committing the Fact, and therefore begged of the Court, that she might at least have so much Mercy shewn her, as not to be burnt alive. The Judges then sentenced the two Men, with the other Malefactors to be hanged, and *Mrs. Hayes*, as in all Cases of Petit-Treason, to die by Fire at a Stake; at which she screamed, and being carried back to *Newgate*, fell into violent Agonies. Perhaps no Body ever kept their Thoughts so long and so closely united in the World,


as appeared by the frequent Messages she sent to *Wood* and *Billings*; and that Tenderness which she expressed for both of them, lamenting in the softest Terms, her having involved those two poor Men in the Commission of a Fact, for which they were now to lose their Lives: In which indeed, they deserved Pity, since they were Persons of unblemished Characters, until misled by her.

As to the Sense she had of her own Circumstances, there has been scarce any in her State known to behave with so much indifference. She said often, that Death was neither grievous nor terrible to her in itself, but was in some Degrees shocking from the Manner in which she was to die. Her fondness for *Billings*, hurried her into Indecencies of a very extraordinary Nature, such as sitting with her Hand in his at Chapel, leaning upon his Shoulder, and refusing upon being reprimanded, to make any Amendment in Respect of these shocking Passages, between her and the Murderers of her Husband. One of her last Expressions was to enquire of the Executioner, whether he had hang'd her dear Child; and this, as she was going from the Sledge to the Stake, so strong and lasting were the Passions of this Woman.

The Friday Night before her Execution, (being assured she should die on the Monday following) she had procured a Bottle of strong Poison, designing to have taken the same; but a Woman who was in the Place with her touching it with her Lips, found it burnt them to an extraordinary Degree, and spilling a little on her Handkerchief, perceived it burnt that also; upon which suspecting her Intentions, she broke the Viol. On the Day of her Execution she was at Prayers, and received the Sacrament in the Chapel, where she still shewed her Tenderness for *Billings*. About Twelve the Prisoners were severally carried to Execution: *Billings* with eight others for various Crimes were put into three Carts; and *Catherine Hayes* was drawn upon a Sledge. *Billings* with eight others, after having had some Time for their private Devotions, were turned off. After which, *Catherine Hayes* being brought to the Stake, was chained thereto with an iron Chain, running round her Waist, and under her Arms, and a Rope about her Neck, which was drawn thro' a Hole in the Post; then the Faggots, intermixed with light Brush, Wood, and Straw, being piled all round her, the Executioner put Fire thereto in several Places, which immediately blazing out, as soon as it reached her, with her Arms she pushed down those that were before her, when she appeared in the Middle of the Flames as low as her Waist:

The Executioner got hold of the End of the Cord which was round her Neck, and pulled it tight, in order to strangle her, but the Fire soon reached his Hand and burnt it, so that he was obliged to let go again. More Faggots were immediately thrown upon her, and in about three or four Hours she was reduced to Ashes: In the mean time *Billings*'s Irons were put upon him as he was hanging on the Gallows; after which being cut down, he was carried to the Gibbet, about one hundred Yards Distance, and there hung up in Chains.

Mrs. Hayes some time before her Execution, confidently averred, that *Billings* was the Son both of *Mr. Hayes* and herself; that his Father not liking him, he was put out to Relations of hers, and took the Name of *Billings* from his God-father: But *Mr. Hayes*'s Relations confidently deny'd all this, and he himself said he knew nothing more, than that he called a Shoemaker, Father, in the Country, himself being put Apprentice to a Taylor, with whom he served his Time, and then came up to London to Work Journey-work.



The Execution of Sarah Malcolm in Fleet-street.

An Account of SARAH MALCOLM.

OF the following Paper it needs only be said, that it was written by this unfortunate Person with her own Hand in the Press-Yard of Newgate, on Tuesday the 6th of March, 1732-3 the Day before her Suffering. She spent the greatest Part of the Day in writing it; and when it was finished she read it over several Times; being often admonished to be careful to write nothing but what was Truth. She then folded it up with her own Hands before the Rev. Dr. Middleton, Lecturer of St. Bride's, and Rowland Ingram, Esq; Keeper of His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, who both sealed it with their own Seals; in which manner she delivered it to the Rev. Mr. Piddington, with a desire that it might be published.

After the Execution was over, the Paper was opened before the worshipful the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, Dr. Middleton, Mr. Peters, Mr. Brouncker, and Mr. Ingram; and being read, was again sealed up, and produced two Nights after, before the Honourable the Masters of the Bench of the Inner and Middle Temples, who read and returned it to the said Reverent Person in the manner in which they received it, and in the manner wherin it afterwards appear'd to the World, signed with his Name.

March the 6th, 1732-3.

SIR,

YOU cannot be, nor are not unsensible that there is a just God, before whom we must give an exact Account of all our Actions, at the End of our Lives.

So as my Life is at an End, and I must appear before the All-seeing Judge of Heaven and Earth, to give an Account of mine, so I take that great Judge to witness, that what I here declare is true.

January the 28th, which was Sunday, after my Master was gone to Commons, Mary Tracey came to me, and drank Tea, and then it was I did give my Consent to that unhappy Act of Robbing Mrs. Duncomb, but I do declare before the Almighty, before whom I shortly shall appear, I did not know of the Murder.

And on Saturday the 3d of February was the Time appointed, and accordingly they came about 12 a Clock at Night, and Mary Tracey came to Mr. Kerrol's Chambers, and I went to Mrs. Duncomb's, and on the Stairs I met the Maid, and she did ask me whether I was going to the old Maid, and I answered I was, and as soon as I thought she had got down Stairs, I would have gone in myself, but I thought that I should give some Suspicion, and so I asked which would go in, and James Alexander replied he would, and the Door being left open for the Maid, against her Return, or otherways I was to have knocked at the Door, and after to have let them in, but it being open hindred it; and I gave James

No. 75.

Alexander Directions to lie under the Maid's Bed, and desired Mary Tracey and Thomas Alexander to go and stay for me at my Master's Door until my Return, and according they did, and when I came, I desired they would go and stay for me at Mrs. Duncomb's Stairs, until my Return, and I went and lighted a Candle, and stirred the Fire in my Master's Chamber, and went again to Mary Tracey and Thomas Alexander, who were on Mrs. Duncomb's Stairs, and there we waited until after two a Clock on the Sunday which was the 4th of February, and then I would have gone in, but when Thomas Alexander and Mary Tracey interrupted me, and said if you go in, and they awake, they will know you, and if you stay on the Stairs, it may be that some one will come up and see you; but I made Answer, that no one lives up so high but Madam Duncomb.

And at length it was concluded that Mary Tracey and the other Alexander should go in, and I to the Door, and accordingly they did, and there I remained until between 4 and 5 a Clock, and then they came out, and said, Hip, and I came higher up, and they did ask, which way they should shut the Door, and I told them to run the Bolt back, and it would spring into its Place, and accordingly they did, and came down, and having come down, they asked, where they should divide what they had got; I asked how much that was; they said, about three hundred Pounds in Goods and Money, but said they were forced to gag them all.

I desired to know, where they had found it; they said, that fifty Guineas of it was in the old Maid's Pocket in a leather Purse, besides Silver, that they said was loose; and above an hundred and fifty Pounds in a Drawer, besides the Money that they had out of a Box, and the Tankard and one silver Spoon, and a Ring which was looped with Thread, and one square piece of Plate, one pair of Sheets, and two Pillow-biers and five Shifts; and so did divide all this, near Fig-Tree-Court, as also near Petty-Court; and they did say unto me, before that you bury the Cole and Plate under Ground, until the Robbery is all over; For if you be seen stoll with Cole, you will be suspested; and on Monday, before, about a quarter a Clock, you come to the Peter-Pulter on Fleet-bridge.

I being apprehended on the Sunday Night, on the Monday Morning, when I was in the Cage, I happened to see one Bridgewater; he said, he was sorry to see me there, I also was sorry to see him a Brother in Affliction; he desired me to give him a Dram, for he was a great while in Prison, and I threw him a Shilling and a Farthing: And I walking about the Room I was surprised to hear me called by my Name, and looking about, I observed at the Head of the Bed something move, and I pulled back the Curtain, and there I saw this Bridgewater, and he asked whether I had sent for any friends; I told him I had, and not long after he called me again, and said, there was a Friend come to me; and I looked thorough the Hole in the Wall, and asked, whether that was Will Gibbs, and he answered me yes; and I asked him, how the Alexanders were, he said, they were well; he asked me how I came

to

to be taken, and I told him, my Master having found the Tankard, and some Linen, and he having seen ninety Pounds and sixteen Shillings on the *Sunday* the 4th of *February*, but it might through Surprise be forgot, but I had it all. He said, if I would give him some Money, he would get People that would swear that the Tankard was my Mother's according as I would direct; but said I, you must get some one to swear, that I was at their House; he said, it must be a Woman, and he said, she would not go without four Guineas, and the four Men must have two Guineas a-piece. So I gave him twelve Guineas, and he said, he and his Friends would be at the *Bull's Head* in *Breadstreet*, but when I asked for them, I could not hear of them, and when I came before the Worshipful Alderman *Brocas*, I was committed to *Newgate*.

And when I was brought up to the Common Side, I was bid to pull off my Riding-hood, and one *Peter Buck* a Prisoner observed a Bulk in my Hair to hang down behind, and told one *Roger Johnson*, that I certainly had Money in my Hair; and Mr. *Johnson* brought me down in a Cellar, and told me, that *Peter Buck* said, I had Money in my Hair, and bid me take it out, and so I did, and he counted 36 Moidores and eighteen Guineas, and 6 broad Pieces, and 2 of them were 25 Shillings, and 4 were 23 Shilling Pieces, and half a 23 Shillings, and 5

Crowns, and 2 half Crowns, and one Shilling, and he said in the Condemned Hole, he would be cleared and get out of Gaol on that Account.

In the Seal'd Cover, wherein the foregoing PAPER was enclos'd, were these Words written also with her own Hand.

THE enclos'd contains six Sides of Paper, which I take Almighty God and my own Conscience to witness, is nothing but the very Truth, as witness my Hand,

SARAH MALCOLM.

When this unhappy Malefactor was brought into Fleet-street, over-against Fetter-Lane End, the Place of her Execution, on Wednesday the 7th of March, she declared she died in Peace with all the World, and earnestly desired to see her Master Kerrol; but as she could not, protested that all Accusations and Aspersions concerning him, were entirely false, and that all Confessions, except those delivered as above, were entirely groundless, and likewise solemnly declared that the Contents of the foregoing Paper were true.

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